THE

LIFE

OF

John Milton,

Containing, beſides the

Hiſtory of his WORKS,

Several Extraordinary Characters of Men and Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions.

Victrix Cauſa Diis placuit, ſed victa Catoni.

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THE LIFE OF John Milton.

To THOMAS RAULINS of *Kilreag* in *Herefordſhire* Eſq;

I SEND You at length, my beſt Friend, what you have ſo often and earneſtly ſollicited me to write, the Life of *JOHN MILTON*, a Man eminent at home and famous abroad for his univerſal Learning, Sagacity, and ſolid Judgment: but particularly noted as well for thoſe excellent Volumes he wrote on

the behalf of Civil, Religious, and Domeſtic Liberty; as for his divine and incomparable Poems, which, equalling the moſt beautiful Order and Expreſſion of any antient or modern Compoſitions, are infinitly above them all for Sublimity and Invention. Obſerving in this performance the Rules of a faithful Hiſtorian, being neither provok'd by Malice, nor brib'd by Favor, and as well daring to ſay all that is true, as ſcorning to write any Falſhood, I ſhall not conceal what may be thought againſt my Author's Honor, nor add the leaſt word for his Reputation: but three things I would have you ſpecially obſerve. Firſt, I ſhall not be too minute in relating the ordinary Circumſtances of his Life, and which are common to him with all other Men. Writings of this nature ſhould in my opinion be deſign'd to recommend Virtue, and to expoſe Vice; or to illuſtrat Hiſtory, and to preſerve the memory of extraordinary things. That a Man, for example, was ſick at ſuch a time, or well at another,

ſhould

ſhould never be mention'd; except in the Cauſes or Effects, Cure or Continuance, there happens ſomthing remarkable, and for the benefit of Mankind to know. I had not therfore related MILTON's Headachs in his Youth, were it not for the influence which this Indiſpoſition had afterwards on his Eys; and that his Blindneſs was raſhly imputed by his Enemies to the avenging Judgment of God. Secondly, In the Characters of Sects, and Parties, Books or Opinions, I ſhall produce his own words, as I find 'em in his Works; that thoſe who approve his Reaſons, may ow all the Obligation to himſelf, and that I may eſcape the blame of ſuch as may diſlike what he ſays. For it is commonly ſeen, that Hiſtorians are ſuſpected rather to make their Hero what they would have him to be, than ſuch as he really was; and that, as they are promted by different Paſſions, they put thoſe words in his mouth which they might not ſpeak themſelves without incurring ſom danger, and being accus'd

perhaps of Flattery or Injuſtice: but I am neither writing a Satyr, nor a Panegyric upon MILTON, but publiſhing the true Hiſtory of his Actions, Works, and Opinions. In the third place, I would not have it expected that when I quote a few Verſes or Paſſages in a different Language, I ſhould always pretend to tranſlate 'em, when the whole turn or fancy abſolutely depends upon the force of the Original words; for the Ignorant could be nothing the wiſer, and the beſt Tranſlation would ſpoil their Beauty to the Learned. But this happens ſo rarely, and almoſt only during his Travels abroad, that it ſcarce deſerv'd an Advertiſment. The ampleſt part of my Materials I had from his own Books, where, conſtrain'd by the Diffamations of his Enemys, he often gives an account of himſelf. I learnt ſom Particulars from a Perſon that had bin once his Amanuenſis, which were confirm'd to me by his Daughter now dwelling in *London*, and by a Letter written to one at my deſire from his laſt Wife, who is

ſtill

ſtill alive. I peruſ'd the Papers of one of his Nephews, learnt what I could in Diſcourſe with the other; and laſtly conſulted ſuch of his Acquaintance, as, after the beſt inquiry, I was able to diſcover. Thus completely furniſh'd, I undertook, moſt ingenious Sir, the following Work, as well to oblige you, as to inform Poſterity; and perform'd what I knew would be acceptable to my Friend with as much pleaſure as ever you peruſ'd our Author's excellent Sheets.

JOHN MILTON, the Son likewiſe of JOHN MILTON, and SARAH CASTON, a Woman exemplary for her Liberality to the Poor, was born in *London*, in the Year of Chriſt 1606. a Gentleman by his Education and Family, being deſcended from the MILTONS of *Milton* in *Oxfordſhire*; tho if you conſider him in his admirable Works or Genius, he was truly and eminently noble. But he had too much good Senſe to value himſelf upon any other Qualities except thoſe of his Mind, and which only he could properly call his own: for all external and adventitious Titles, as they may at the pleaſure of a Tyrant, or by an unfortunat Attemt againſt his Government, be quite aboliſh'd; ſo we often find in Hereditary Ho-

Honors, that thoſe Diſtinctions which the Brave and the Wiſe had juſtly obtain'd from their Country, deſcend indifferently to Cowards, Traytors, or Fools, and ſpoil the Induſtry of better Souls from indeavoring to equal or excede the Merits of their Anceſtors. His Father was a polite Man, a great Maſter of Muſic, and by Profeſſion a Scrivener, in which Calling, thro his Diligence and Honeſty, he got a competent Eſtate in a ſmall time: for he was diſinherited by his bigotted Parents for imbracing the Proteſtant Religion, and abjuring the Popiſh Idolatry. He had two other Children, ANNA marry'd to EDWARD PHILIPS; and CHRISTOPHER bred to the Common Law, who, more reſembling his Grandfather than his Father or Brother, was of a very ſuperſtitious nature, and a man of no Parts or Ability. After the late Civil Wars, tho he was intirely addicted to the Royal Cauſe, no notice was taken of him, till the late King JAMES, wanting a ſet of Judges that would declare his Will to be ſuperior to our Legal Conſtitution, created him the ſame day a Serjeant and one of the Barons of the Exchequer, knighting him of courſe, and making him next one of the Judges of the Common Pleas: But he quickly had his *quietus eſt*, as his Maſter not long after was depos'd for his Maladminiſtration by the People of *England*, repreſented in a Convention at *Weſtminſter*. To return now to the Perſon who makes the Subject of this Diſ-

Diſcourſe, JOHN MILTON was deſtin'd to be a Scholar, and partly under domeſtic Teachers (wherof one was THOMAS YOUNG, to whom the firſt of his familiar Letters is inſcrib'd) and partly under Dr. *Gill*, the chief Maſter of *Paul*'s School (to whom likewiſe the fifth of the ſame Letters is written) he made an incredible Progreſs in the knowlege of Words and Things, his Diligence and Inclination outſtripping the care of his Inſtructors. After the twelfth Year of his Age, ſuch was his inſatiable thirſt for Learning, he ſeldom went to bed before midnight. This was the firſt undoing of his Eys, to whoſe natural debility were added frequent Headachs, which could not retard or extinguiſh his laudable Paſſion for Letters. Being thus initiated in ſeveral Tongues, and having not ſlightly taſted the inexpreſſible Sweets of Philoſophy, he was ſent at 15 to *Chriſt's College* in *Cambridg* to purſue more arduous and ſolid Studies. This ſame Year he gave ſeveral Proofs of his early Genius for Poetry, wherin he afterwards ſucceded ſo happily, that to all Ages he'l continue no leſs the Ornament and Glory of *England*, than HOMER is own'd to be that of *Greece*, and VIRGIL of *Italy*. He firſt tranſlated ſom Pſalms into *Engliſh* Verſe, wherof the 114*th* begins in this manner.

When

When the bleſt Seed of TERAH's faithful Son,
After long toil their Liberty had won,
And paſt from *Pharian* Fields to *Canaan* Land,
Led by the ſtrength of the Almighty's Hand;
Jehovah's Wonders were in *Iſrael* ſhown,
His Praiſe and Glory was in *Iſrael* known.

In his ſeventeenth Year he wrote a handſom Copy of Verſes on the Death of a Siſter's Child that dy'd of a Cough; and the ſame Year a Latin Elegy on the Death of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with another on that of *Ely*. 'Twas then alſo that he compos'd his fine Poem on the Gunpouder Treaſon; concerning all which and the reſt of his Juvenil pieces, the judicious MORHOF, in his *Polyhiſtor Literarius*, ſays, that MILTON's Writings ſhew him to have bin a Man in his very Childhood; and that theſe Poems are excedingly above the ordinary Capacity of that Age. He continu'd in *Cambridg* ſeven years, where he liv'd with great Reputation, and generally belov'd, till taking the degree of Maſter of Arts, and performing his Exerciſes with much applauſe, he left the Univerſity: for he aim'd at none of thoſe Profeſſions that require a longer ſtay in that place. Som of his Academic Performances are ſtill extant among his occaſional Poems, and at the end of his familiar Letters. The five ſucceding years he liv'd with his Father

ther in his Country Retirement at *Horton* near *Colebrook* in *Barkſhire*, where at full leiſure he perus'd all the *Greec* and *Latin* Writers; but was not ſo much in love with his Solitude, as not to make an excurſion now and then to *London*, ſomtimes to buy Books, or to meet Friends from *Cambridg*; and at other times to learn ſom new thing in the Mathematics or in Muſic, with which he was extraordinarily delighted. It was about this time he wrote from *London* a Latin Elegy to his intimat Friend CHARLES DIODATI, wherin ſom Verſes reflecting on the Univerſity, and preferring the Pleaſures of the Town, gave a handle afterwards to certain Perſons no leſs ignorant than malitious, to report that either he was expel'd for ſom Miſdemeanor from *Cambridg*, or left it in diſcontent that he obtain'd no Preferment: and that at *London* he ſpent his time with leud Women, or at Playhouſes. But the falſity of this ſtory we ſhall in due place demonſtrat, and in the mean time inſert thoſe lines for the ſatisfaction of the curious.

Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thameſis alluit unda,
Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.
Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura reviſere Camum,
Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.
Nuda nec arva placent, umbraſque negantia molles,
Quem malè Phœbicolis convenit ille locus!
Nec duri libet uſque minas perferre Magiſtri,
Cæteraque ingenio non ſubeunda meo.

Si

Si ſit hoc exilium patrios adiſſe penates,
Et vacuum curis otia grata ſequi,
Non ego vel profugi nomen, ſortemve recuſo,
Lætus & exilii conditione fruor.
O utinam vates nunquam graviora tuliſſet
Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro;
Non tunc Ionio quicquam ceſſiſſet Homero,
Neque foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.
Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Muſis,
Et totum rapiunt me mea vita libri.
Excipit hinc feſſum ſinuoſi pompa Theatri,
Et vocat ad plauſus garrula ſcena ſuos.

Et paulo poſt:

Sed neque ſub tecto ſemper, nec in urbe, latemus,
Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.
Nos quoque lucus habet vicino conſitus ulmo,
Atque ſuburbani nobilis umbra loci.
Sæpius hic blandas ſpirantia Sydera flammas
Virgineos videas præteriiſſe Choros.

He wrote another Latin Elegy to CHARLES DIODATI; and in his twentieth year he made one on the approach of the Spring: but the following year he deſcribes his falling in love with a Lady (whom he accidentally met, and never afterwards ſaw) in ſuch tender Expreſſions, with thoſe lively Paſſions, and Images ſo natural, that you would think Love himſelf had directed his Pen, or inſpir'd your own Breaſt when you peruſe them. We ſhall

ſee

ſee him now appear in a more ſerious Scene, tho yet a Child in compariſon of the Figure he afterwards made in the World. The Death of his Mother happening likewiſe about this time facilitated his deſign, which was with his Father's leave to travel into foren Regions, being perſuaded that he could not better diſcern the Preeminence or Defects of his own Country, than by obſerving the Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions of others; and that the ſtudy of never ſo many Books, without the advantages of Converſation, ſerves only to render a Man either a ſtupid Fool, or an inſufferable Pedant. Firſt therfore he procedes to *France* with one Servant, and no Tutor: for ſuch as ſtill need a Pedagog are not fit to go abroad; and thoſe who are able to make a right uſe of their Travels, ought to be the free Maſters of their own Actions, their good Qualifications being ſufficient to introduce 'em into all places, and to preſent 'em to the moſt deſerving Perſons. He had an elegant Letter of Direction and Advice from the famous Sir HENRY WOTTON, who was a long time Ambaſſador from King JAMES the Firſt to the Republic of *Venice*. Being arriv'd at *Paris*, he was moſt kindly receiv'd by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who recommended him to the famous GROTIUS, then Ambaſſador alſo from Queen CHRISTINA of *Sweden* at the French Court: for we may eaſily imagin that MILTON was not a little deſirous to be known to the firſt Perſon then in the

the World for reading and latitude of Judgment, to ſpeak nothing of his other meritorious Characters. From hence he parted for *Italy*, where, after paſſing thro ſeveral noted Places, he came at length to *Florence*; a City for the Politeneſs of the Language, and the Civility of the Inhabitants, he always infinitly admir'd. In this place he ſtaid about two months, and was daily aſſiſting at thoſe learned Conferences which they hold in their privat Academys, according to the laudable Cuſtom of *Italy*, both for the improvement of Letters, and the begetting or maintaining of Friendſhip. During this time he contracted an intimat Acquaintance with ſeveral ingenious Men, moſt of which have ſince made a noiſe in the World, and deſerve a mention in this place: I mean GADDI, DATI, FRESCOBALDI, FRANCINI, BONMATTEI, COLTELLINO, CHIMENTELLI, and ſeveral others. With theſe he kept a conſtant Correſpondence, particularly with CAROLO DATI, a Nobleman of *Florence*, to whom he wrote the tenth of his Familiar Epiſtles, and who gave him the following Teſtimonial of his Eſteem.

Joanni

Joanni Miltoni Londinenſi,
Juveni patria & virtutibus eximio.

VIRO qui multa peregrinatione, ſtudio cuncta orbis terrarum perſpexit, ut novus Ulyſſes omnia ubique ab omnibus apprehenderet. Polyglotto, in cujus ore linguæ jam deperditæ ſic reviviſcunt, ut idiomata omnia ſint in ejus laudibus infacunda; & jure ea percallet, ut admirationes & plauſus populorum ab propria ſapientia excitatos, intelligat. Illi, cujus animi dotes corporiſque ſenſus ad admirationem commovent, & per ipſam motum cuique auferunt: cujus opera ad plauſus hortantur, ſed venuſtate vocem auditoribus adimunt. Cui in memoria totus orbis: in intellectu ſapientia: in voluntate ardor gloriæ: in ore eloquentia. Harmonicos cœleſtium Sphærarum ſonitus, Aſtronomia duce, audienti; characteres mirabilium naturæ, per quos Dei magnitudo deſcribitur, magiſtra Philoſophia legenti; antiquitatum latebras, vetuſtatis excidia, eruditionis Ambages, comite aſſidua autorum lectione, exquirenti, reſtauranti, percurrenti. At cur nitor in arduum? Illi in cujus virtutibus evulgandis ora famæ non ſufficiant, nec hominum ſtupor in laudandis ſatis eſt, reverentiæ & amoris ergo hoc ejus meritis debitum admirationis tributum offert

Carolus Datus Patricius Florentinus,

Tanto homini Servus, tantæ virtutis Amator.

I DON'T think the *Italian* Flouriſhes were ever carry'd further than in this Elogy, which notwithſtanding is ſincere, and pen'd by an honeſt Man. FRANCINI is not leſs liberal of his Praiſes in the long *Italian* Ode he compos'd in his Honor, which, becauſe it dos Juſtice to the *Engliſh* Nation, and foretold the future Greatneſs of MILTON, I have annex'd to this Diſcourſe. That he correſponded afterwards with BONMATTEI, appears from the eighth of his familiar Letters, which he wrote to him on his deſign of publiſhing an *Italian* Grammar, and is not more elegant than pertinent. But he attain'd that perfection himſelf in the *Italian* Language, as to make ſom Songs on a real or feign'd Miſtreſs, in one of which he gives a handſom account of his writing in this Tongue.

Qual in colle aſpro, al imbrunir di ſera,
L' avezza giovinetta paſtorella
Va bagnando L'herbetta ſtrana e bella,
Che mal ſi ſpande a diſuſata ſpera
Fruor di ſua natia alma prima vera:
Coſi amor meco inſu la lingua ſnella
Deſta il fior nuovo di ſtrania favella;
Mentre io di te, vezzozamente altera,
Canto dal mio buon popol non inteſo,
E'l bel Tamigi cangio col bel arno:
Amor lo volſe, ed io a l' altrui peſo;
Seppi ch'amor coſa mai volſe indarno.
Deh! foſs'il mio cuor lento, e'l duro ſeno
A chi pianta dal ciel ſi buon terreno.

From

From his belov'd *Florence* he took his Journy next to *Rome*, where he ſtay'd two other Months to ſee the miſerable Remains of that famous City, once the glorious Miſtreſs of the World, and deſervedly ſo, as being then not only the faireſt thing under Heaven; but that, till the Ambition of a few Perſons corrupted her equal Government, ſhe extended Liberty and Learning as far as the Glory of her Name, or the Terror of her Arms. Here, no doubt, all the Examples he had hitherto read of the Virtue, Eloquence, Wiſdom, or Valor of her antient Citizens, occur'd to his mind; and could not but oppreſs with grief his generous Soul, when with his own eys he ſaw *Rome* now the chief Seat of the moſt exquiſit Tyranny exercis'd by effeminat Prieſts, not reigning in the World thro any conceiv'd opinion of their Juſtice, or dread of their Courage (for to theſe Qualities they are known and ſworn Enemys) but deluding men with unaccountable Fables, and diſarming 'em by imaginary Fears, they fill their heads firſt with Superſtition, and then their own Pockets with their Mony. Here he became acquainted with the celebrated Lucas Holstenius the *Vatican* Librarian, who us'd him with great Humanity, and readily ſhew'd him all the *Greec* Authors, whether publiſh'd or otherwiſe, that paſt his Care and Emendations: He alſo preſented him to Cardinal Barberini, who at an entertainment of Muſic, perform'd at his own expence, look'd

for him in the Croud, and gave him a kind Invitation. To thank HOLSTENIUS for all theſe Favors, MILTON wrote afterwards from *Florence* the ninth of his Familiar Letters. At *Rome* he likewiſe commenc'd a Friendſhip with the Poet GIOVANNI SALSILLI, who in the following Tetraſtich extols him for writing ſo correctly in *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Italian*.

Cede Meles, cedat depreſſa Mincius urna,
Sebetus Taſſum deſinat uſque loqui:
At Thameſis victor cunctis ferat altior undas,
Nam per te, Milto, par tribus unus erit.

MILTON in return ſent to SALSILLI, ſhortly after lying ſick, thoſe fine Scazons which may be read among his Juvenil Poems. And here too did SELVAGGI adorn him with this Diſtich.

Græcia Mæonidem, jactet ſibi Roma Maronem:
Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem.

Having departed from *Rome* to *Naples*, he was introduc'd by his Fellow Traveller to GIOVANNI BATTISTA MANSO, Marquiſs of *Villa*, a Perſon moſt nobly deſcended, of great Authority, renown'd for his military Atchievments, and a Patron of learned Men. To him the famous TASSO inſcrib'd his Poem of Friendſhip, and makes honorable mention of

of him among the Princes of *Campania* in the twentieth Book of his *Gierusalemme Conquistata*. He went himself to shew him all the remarkable Places of that City, visited him often at his Lodging, and made this Distich in his Commendation, which he addresses to himself.

Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos; si pietas sic,
Non Anglus, verum Hercle Angelus ipse fores.

This exception of his Piety relates to his being a Protestant; and the Marquiss told him he would have don him several other good Offices, had he bin more reserv'd in matters of Religion. But our Author out of Gratitude for all these singular Favors from one of his high Quality, presented him at his departure with an incomparable Latin Eclog, intitul'd *Manso*, which is extant among his occasional pieces: and that I may mention it by the way, I don't question but it was from MANSO's Conversation and their Discourses about TASSO that he first form'd his design of writing an Epic Poem, tho he was not so soon determin'd about the Subject.

HE was now preparing to pass over into *Sicily* and *Greece*, when he was recal'd by the sad News of a Civil War beginning in *England*; esteeming it an unworthy thing for him securely to be diverting himself abroad, when his Countrymen were contending at home for

their Liberty. Intending therfore to return to *Rome*, he was advis'd by ſom Merchants to the contrary; for they had learnt from their Correſpondents, that the *Engliſh* Jeſuits were framing Plots againſt him by reaſon of the great Freedom he us'd in his Diſcourſes of Religion. Notwithſtanding, having reſolv'd not to begin any Diſputes, but, being ask'd, not to diſſemble his Sentiments whatever might inſue, he went the ſecond time to *Rome*, and ſtay'd there two months longer, neither concealing his Name, nor declining openly to defend the Truth under the Pope's noſe, when any thought fit to attack him: yet he return'd ſafe to his learned and affectionat Friends in *Florence*. I forgot all this while to mention that he paid a Viſit to GALILEO, then an old man, and a Priſoner to the Inquiſition for thinking otherwiſe in Aſtronomy than pleas'd the *Franciſcan* and *Dominican* Friers. He tarry'd two other months in *Florence*, and having ſeen *Lucca*, *Bononia*, *Ferrara*, he arriv'd in *Venice*. After ſpending one month here, and ſhipping off all the Books he collected in his Travels, he came thro *Verona*, *Milan*, croſs the *Alps*, and along the Lake *Lemanno* to *Geneva*, where he contracted an intimat Familiarity with GIOVANNI DIODATI, a noted Profeſſor of Divinity, and was known to ſeveral others, particularly to the celebrated Critic and Antiquary EZECHIEL SPANHEMIUS now alive, to whom he wrote the 17*th* of his Familiar

Letters, and who, together with CALANDRINI, and ſom more of that City, ſent him intelligence afterwards concerning his Antagoniſt MORUS, wherof in due order. So leaving this place, and paſſing back again thro *France*, he did after one year and three month's Peregrination return ſafe into *England*, much about the ſame time that King CHARLES the Firſt made his ſecond unſucceſsful Expedition againſt the *Scots*. As ſoon as the Complements of Friends or Acquaintance were over, he hir'd a handſom Lodging in the City, to be a retreat for himſelf and his Books in ſuch uncertain and troubleſom times. But he continu'd a long while inconſolable for the loſs of his deareſt Friend and Schoolfellow CHARLES DIODATI, mention'd before, who dy'd in his abſence. He was from *Lucca* originally, but an Engliſhman born, a Student in Phyſic, and an excellent Scholar, as I have good reaſons to believe, and appears by two *Greec* Letters of his to MILTON, very handſomly written, and which I have now in my hands. Our Author in mournful Notes bitterly laments the immature fate of this young Gentleman, whom he denotes by the appellation of DAMON in an Eclog nothing inferior to the *Maronian Daphnis*, and which is to be ſtill ſeen among his *Latin* Miſcellanies. By this piece we plainly find that he had already conceiv'd the Plan of an Epic Poem, wherof he then deſign'd the Subject ſhould be the warlike Actions of the old *Britiſh*

[illegible]es, and particularly of King AR-[illegible], as he declares himſelf in theſe Verſes.

Ipſe ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes
Dicam, & Pandraſidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,
Brennumque, Arviragumque Duces, priſcumque Belinum,
Et tandem Armoricos Britonum ſub lege Colonos;
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iögernen,
Mendaces vultus aſſumtaque Gorlois arma,
Merlini Dolus.

But this particular Subject was reſerv'd for the celebrated Pen of Sir RICHARD BLACKMORE. Som few lines after he declares his Ambition of performing ſomthing in his native Language that might perpetuat his Name in theſe Ilands, tho he ſhould be the more obſcure and inglorious by it to the reſt of the World. His words, becauſe they are wonderfully fine, I ſhall here inſert.

——————Mihi ſatis ampla
Merces, & mihi grande decus (ſim ignotus in ævum
Tum licet, externo penituſque inglorius orbi)
Si me flava comas legat Uſa, & potor Alauni,
Vorticibuſque frequens Abra, & nemus omne Treantæ,
Et Thameſis meus ante omnes, & fuſca metallis
Tamara, & extremis me diſcant Orcades undis.

I ſaid above that it was by his Converſation with the Marquiſs of *Villa*, who ſo nobly honor'd the immortal Memory of TASSO, that our MILTON form'd his vaſt Deſign. That this was not a mere Conjecture, and that King ARTHUR alſo was to be the Hero of that piece, let but theſe Verſes of his *Manſus* be conſider'd.

O mihi ſi mea ſors talem concedat amicum
Phœbæos decoraſſe viros qui tam bene norit,
Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
Artarumque etiam ſub Terris bella moventem;
Aut dicam invictæ ſociali fœdere menſæ
Magnanimos Heroas, & (O modo ſpiritus adſit)
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum ſub Marte Phalanges.

BUT to return to his Lodgings, where we left him, there, both to be eas'd in the reading of the beſt Authors, and to diſcharge his Duty to his Siſter's Sons that were partly committed to his Tuition, he undertook the care of their Education, and inſtructed them in *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew* and other Oriental Dialects; likewiſe in ſeveral parts of the Mathematics, in Coſmography, Hiſtory, and ſom modern Languages, as *French* and *Italian*. Som Gentlemen of his intimat Friends, and to whom he could deny nothing, prevail'd with him to impart the ſame benefits of Learning to their Sons, ſpecially ſince the trouble was no more wth many than

a few. He that well knew the greateſt Perſons in all ages to have bin delighted with teaching others the Principles of Knowlege and Virtue, eaſily comply'd; nor was his Succeſs unanſwerable to the opinion which was generally entertain'd of his Capacity. And not content to acquaint his Diſciples with thoſe Books that are commonly read in the Schools, wherof ſeveral, no doubt, are excellent in their kind, tho others are as trivial or impertinent; he made them likewiſe read in *Latin* the antient Authors concerning Husbandry, as CATO, VARRO, COLUMELLA, and PALLADIUS; alſo CORNELIUS CELSUS the Phyſician, PLINY'S Natural Hiſtory, the Architecture of VITRUVIUS, the Stratagems of FRONTINUS, and the Philoſophical Poets LUCRETIUS and MANILIUS. To the uſual *Greec* Books, as HOMER and HESIOD, he added ARATUS, DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, OPPIAN, QUINTUS CALABER, APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, PLUTARCH, XENOPHON, ÆLIAN'S Tactics, and the Stratagems of POLYÆNUS. It was this greateſt ſign of a good Man in him, and the higheſt Obligation he could lay on his Friends, without any ſordid or mercenary purpoſes, that gave occaſion to his Adverſaries with opprobriouſly terming him a Schoolmaſter; tho were this charge as true as it is utterly falſe, I ſee not how it ſhould any way tend to his Diſhonor, if he had bin neceſſitated

ed to ſuch a laborious occupation for his living, and diſcharg'd it with due Honeſty and Care. But what's very remarkable is, that the moſt forward to reproach him in this manner were themſelves mean Tutors in the Univerſity, and the greateſt of 'em only a Profeſſor, which are but nominally diſtinguiſhable from School-maſters.

HE tells us himſelf in his ſecond Defence, "That on his return from Travelling he found "all mouths open againſt the Biſhops, ſom "complaining of their Vices, and others quar-"relling at the very Order; and that thinking "from ſuch beginnings a way might be open'd "to true Liberty, he heartily ingag'd in the "Diſpute, as well to reſcue his Fellow-Citi-"zens from Slavery, as to help the Puritan Mi-"niſters, who were inferior to the Biſhops in "Learning. He firſt of all therfore in the year 1641. publiſh'd two Books of *Reforma-tion*, dedicated to a Friend. In the firſt of theſe he ſhews, by orderly ſteps, from HENRY the Eighth's Reign, what were all along the real impediments in this Kingdom to a perfect Reformation, which in general he reduces to two heads, that is, our retaining of Ceremonies, and confining the Power of Ordination to Dioceſan Biſhops excluſively of the People. "Our Ceremonies, he ſays, are ſenſleſs in "themſelves, and ſerve for nothing but either "to facilitat our return to Popery; or to hide "the defects of better Knowlege, and to ſet

"off

" off the Pomp of Prelacy. As for the Biſhops, many of whom he denys not to have bin good Men, tho not infallible, nor above all human Frailties, he affirms, " that at the beginning, " tho they had renounc'd the Pope, they hug'd " the Popedom, and ſhar'd the Authority a- " mong themſelves. In King EDWARD the Sixth's time, he affirms, " they were with " their proſtitute Gravities the common Stales " to countenance every politic fetch that was " then on foot. If a Toleration for Maſs were " to be beg'd of the King for his Siſter MARY, " leſt CHARLES the Fifth ſhould be angry; " who but the grave Prelats, CRANMER " and RIDLEY, ſhould be ſent to extort it " from the young King? When the Lord " SUDLEY, Admiral of *England*, and the " Protector's Brother, was wrongfully to loſe " his Life, no man could be found fitter than " LATIMER to divulge in his Sermon the " forg'd Accuſations laid to his charge, ther- " by to defame him with the People. CRAN- " MER, one of King HENRY's Executors, " and the other Biſhops, did, to gratify the " Ambition of a Traytor, conſent to ex- " clude from the Succeſſion, not only MARY " the Papiſt, but alſo ELIZABETH the Pro- " teſtant, tho before declar'd by themſelves " the lawful Iſſue of their late Maſter. In Queen ELIZABETH's Reign he imputes the Obſtructions of a further Reformation ſtill to the Biſhops, and then procedes from Anti-

quity

quity to prove that all Eccleſiaſtical Elections belong'd to the People; but that if thoſe Ages had favor'd Epiſcopacy, we ſhould not be much concern'd, ſince *the beſt times were ſpreadingly infected, the beſt Men of thoſe times foully tainted, and the beſt Writings of thoſe Men dangerouſly adulterated*; which Propoſitions he labors to prove at large. In the ſecond Book he continues his Diſcourſe of Prelatical Epiſcopacy, diſplays the Politics of the ſame; which, according to him, are always oppoſit to Liberty: he deduces the Hiſtory of it down from its remoteſt Original, and ſhews, that in *England* particularly it is ſo far from being, as they commonly allege, the only Form of Church-Diſciplin agreable to Monarchy, that the mortalleſt Diſeaſes and Convulſions of the Government did ever procede from the Craft of the Prelats, or was occaſion'd by their Pride. Then he incourages the *Engliſh* and *Scots* to purſue their begun Conteſt for Liberty by this Exhortation. "Go on both, hand in hand, "O Nations, never to be diſunited. Be the "Praiſe and the heroic Song of all Poſterity. "Merit this; but ſeek only Virtue, not to "extend your limits: for what need you win a "fading triumphant Laurel out of the Tears of "wretched Men; but to ſettle the pure Wor"ſhip of God in his Church, and Juſtice in "the State? Then ſhall the hardeſt Difficul"ties ſmooth out themſelves before you; Envy "ſhall ſink to Hell, Craft and Malice be con"founded,

" founded, whether it be homebred Miſchief,
" or outlandiſh Cunning: Yea other Nations
" will then covet to ſerve you; for Lordſhip
" and Victory are but the Pages of Juſtice and
" Virtue. Commit ſecurely to true Wiſdom
" the vanquiſhing and uncaſing of Craft and
" Subtilty, which are but her two Runnagates.
" Join your invincible Might to do worthy and
" Godlike Deeds, and then he that ſeeks to
" break your Union, a cleaving Curſe be his
" Inheritance to all Generations.

AFTER this, certain Miniſters having written a Treatiſe againſt Epiſcopacy, the Title *Smectymnuus* conſiſting of the initial Letters of their Names, and a Biſhop of no ſmall Authority having beſtow'd an Anſwer upon it, MILTON, to uſe his own words, ſuppoſing himſelf not leſs able to write for Truth, than others for their Profit or unjuſt Power, publiſh'd his piece of *Prelatical Epiſcopacy*. In this Book he proves againſt the famous USHER (for he would not readily ingage a meaner Adverſary) that Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, or a ſuperior Order to the common Miniſtry, cannot be deduc'd from the Apoſtolical times by the force of ſuch Teſtimonies as are alleg'd to that purpoſe. Now USHER's chief Talent lying in much reading, and being a great Editor and Admirer of old Writings, MILTON ſhews the Inſufficiency, Inconveniency and Impiety of this method to eſtabliſh any part of Chriſtianity; and blames thoſe Perſons who cannot think any

Doubt

Doubt reſolv'd, or any Doctrin confirm'd, unleſs they run to that indigeſted heap and fry of Authors which they call Antiquity. "Whatſoever either Time (ſays he) or the heedleſs "hand of blind Chance, has drawn down to "this preſent in her huge Dragnet, whether "Fiſh or Seaweed, Shells or Shrubs, unpick'd, "unchoſen, thoſe are the Fathers. And ſo he chides the good Biſhop for divulging uſeleſs Treatiſes, ſtuft with the ſpecious Names of IGNATIUS and POLYCARPUS, with Fragments of old Martyrologies and Legends, to diſtract and ſtagger the multitude of credulous Readers.

HIS next performanee was *the Reaſon of Church-Government urg'd againſt Prelacy, in two Books*, principally intended againſt the ſame USHER's account of the Original of Epiſcopacy. The Eloquence is maſculin, the Method is natural, the Sentiments are free, and the whole (God knows) appears to have a very different force from what the Nonconformiſt Divines wrote in thoſe days, or ſince that time, on the ſame Subject. In the beginning of the ſecond Book he mentions his deſign of writing an Epic Poem, but continues ſtill unreſolv'd, whether his Hero ſhould be ſom Prince before the Conqueſt, or the Argument be borrow'd from the Scripture or the antient Heathen Hiſtory. But becauſe the account he gives of what the Poet ſhould propoſe by ſuch a work is exactly juſt, and withal ſo properly expreſt, I

ſhall

ſhall not grudg to tranſcribe it in this place. " Theſe Abilities (ſays he, ſpeaking of Inven- " tion and Compoſition) wherſoever they be " found, are the inſpir'd Gift of God; rarely " beſtow'd, but yet to ſom (tho moſt abuſe " them) in every Nation, and are of power " to breed and cheriſh in a great People the " Seeds of Virtue and public Civility, to allay " the Perturbations of the Mind, and ſet the " Affections in a right tune;—or laſtly, what- " ſoever is in Religion holy and ſublime, in " Virtue amiable or grave, whatſoever has " Paſſion or Admiration in all the changes of " that which is call'd Fortune from without, " or the wily Subtilties and Refluxes of Mans " Thoughts from within, all theſe things with " a ſolid and treatable Smoothneſs to paint out " and deſcribe. Teaching over the whole " Book of Sanctity and Virtue thro all the " inſtances of Example, and with ſuch de- " light, to thoſe eſpecially of a ſoft and delicious " temper (who will not ſo much as look up- " on Truth her ſelf, unleſs they ſee her ele- " gantly dreſt) that wheras the Paths of Ho- " neſty and good Life appear now rugged and " difficult, tho they be indeed eaſy and plea- " ſant; they would then appear to all Men " both eaſy and pleaſant, tho they were rugged " and difficult indeed. And what a Benefit " this would be to our Youth and Gentry, " may be ſoon gueſt by what we know of the " Corruption and Bane which they ſuck in

" daily

" daily from the Writings and Interludes of
" libidinous and ignorant Poetaſters; who hav-
" ing ſcarce ever heard of that which is
" the main conſiſtence of a true Poem, the
" choice of ſuch Perſons as they ought to in-
" troduce, and what is moral and decent to
" each one, do for the moſt part lap up vitious
" Principles in ſweet Pills to be ſwallow'd
" down, and make the taſte of virtuous Do-
" cument, harſh and ſour. But becauſe the
" Spirit of Man cannot demean it ſelf lively
" in this Body without ſom recreating inter-
" miſſion of labor and ſerious things, it were
" happy for the Commonwealth, if our Ma-
" giſtrats, as in thoſe famous Governments of
" old, would take into their care not only the
" deciding of our contentious Law caſes or
" Brauls, but the managing of our public
" Sports and feſtival Paſtimes; that they might
" not be ſuch as were authoriz'd a while ſince,
" the Provocations of Drunkenneſs and Luſt,
" but ſuch as may inure and harden our Bodies
" by martial Exerciſes to all warlike Skill and
" Performances; and may civilize, adorn, and
" make diſcrete our Minds by the learned and af-
" fable meeting of frequent Academies, and the
" procurement of wiſe and artful Recitations,
" ſweeten'd with eloquent and graceful Intice-
" ments to the love and practice of Juſtice,
" Temperance and Fortitude, inſtructing and
" bettering the Nation at all opportunities,
" that the voice of Wiſdom and Virtue may

" be heard every where. Whether this may " not be don, not only in Pulpits, but after " another perſuaſive method, at ſet and ſo- " lemn Panegurie-, in Theaters, Porticos, or " what other place or way may win moſt up- " on the People to receive at once both Recre- " ation and Inſtruction, let them in Authority " conſult.

ANOTHER eminent ‖ Biſhop having writ- ten againſt SMECTYMNUUS, our Author publiſh'd *Animadverſions* on his Book; and to the Reaſons alleg'd from Councils for ſubſtituting a conſtant form to occaſional Prayers in public, he gives the following Anſwer. " Set the grave " Councils, ſays he, upon their ſhelves again, " and ſtring them hard, leſt their various and " jangling opinions put their leaves into a " flutter. I ſhall not intend this hot Seaſon to " lead you a courſe thro the wide and duſty " Champain of the Councils; but ſhall take " counſel of that which counſel'd them, Rea- " ſon: And tho I know there is an obſolete " Reprehenſion now at your Tongues end, " yet I ſhall be bold to ſay, that Reaſon is the " Gift of God in one Man as well as in a thou- " ſand. By that which we have taſted al- " ready of their Ciſterns, we may find that " Reaſon was the only thing, and not any di- " vine Command, that mov'd them to injoin " the ſet forms of a Liturgy. Firſt, leſt any " thing in general might be miſſaid in their " public Prayers, thro ignorance or want of " care,

‖ *Joſeph Hall.*

" care, contrary to the Faith: And next, leſt
" the *Arians* and *Pelagians* in particular ſhould
" infect the People by their Hymns and Forms
" of Prayer. But by the good leave of theſe
" antient Fathers, this was no ſolid prevention
" of ſpreading Hereſy, to debar the Miniſters
" of God the uſe of their nobleſt Talent,
" Prayer in the Congregation; unleſs they had
" forbid the uſe of all Sermons and Lectures too
" but ſuch as were ready made to their hands
" like our Homilies: or elſe he that was here-
" tically diſpos'd had as fair an opportuni-
" ty of infecting in his Diſcourſe, as in his
" Prayer or Hymn. As inſufficiently, and,
" to ſay truth, as imprudently did they pro-
" vide by their contriv'd Liturgies, leſt any
" thing ſhould be pray'd thro ignorance or
" want of care in the Miniſters: for if they
" were careleſs and ignorant in their Prayers,
" certainly they would be more careleſs in
" their preaching, and ſtill more careleſs in
" watching over their Flock; and what pre-
" ſcription could reach to bound them in both
" theſe? What if Reaſon, now illuſtrated by
" the Word of God, ſhall be able to produce a
" better Prevention than theſe Councils have
" left us againſt Hereſy, Ignorance, or want
" of care in the Miniſtry, to wit, that ſuch
" Wiſdom and Diligence be us'd in the Edu-
" cation of thoſe that would be Miniſters,
" and ſuch a ſtrict and ſerious Examination to
" be undergon before their admiſſion, as St.

" *Paul* to *Timothy* ſets down at large; and then " they need not carry ſuch an unworthy ſuſ- " picion over the Preachers of God's Word, " as to tutor their Unſoundneſs with the a, b, " c, of a Liturgy, or to diet their Ignorance " and want of Care with the limited draught " of a Mattin and Evenſong drench. What his Opinion was of the Fathers he further declares, when he calls them thoſe more antient " than truſty Fathers, whom Cuſtom and " fond Opinion, weak Principles, and the neg- " lect of ſounder Knowlege, has exalted ſo " high, as to have gain'd them a blind Reve- " rence; whoſe Books in bigneſs and number " endleſs and immeaſurable, I cannot think " that either God or Nature, either divine or " human Wiſdom, did ever mean ſhould be a " Rule or Reliance to us in the deciſion of any " weighty and poſitive Doctrins: for cer- " tainly every Rule and Inſtrument of ne- " ceſſary Knowlege that God has given us, " ought to be ſo in proportion as may be wield- " ed and manag'd by the Life of Man, with- " out penning him up from the Duties of hu- " man Society.—But he that ſhall bind him- " ſelf to make Antiquity his Rule, if he reads " but part (beſides the difficulty of choice) " his Rule is deficient, and utterly unſatisfy- " ing; for there may be other Writers of a- " nother mind, which he has not ſeen: And if " he undertakes all, the length of Man's Life " cannot extend to give him a full and requiſit " know-

" knowlege of what was don in Antiquity.—
" Go therfore and uſe all your Art, apply your
" Sledges, your Leavers, and your iron Crows,
" to heave and hale your mighty POLYPHE-
" MUS of Antiquity, to the deluſion of No-
" vices and unexperienc'd Chriſtians. The preſent Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, he ſays, were
" not at firſt the effects of juſt Policy or whole-
" ſom Laws, but of the ſuperſtitious Devoti-
" on of Princes and great Men that knew no
" better, or of the baſe importunity of beg-
" ging Friers, haunting and haraſſing the
" Deathbeds of Men departing this Life in a
" blind and wretched condition of hope to me-
" rit Heaven for the building of Churches,
" Cloyſters, and Convents; the black Reve-
" nues of Purgatory, the price of abus'd and
" murder'd Souls, the damn'd Simony of
" Trentals, and the hire of Indulgences to
" commit mortal Sin.

MILTON'S next Book was his *Apology* againſt the ſame Reverend Perſon who tax'd his Animadverſions with being a ſcurrilous Libel. This Adverſary, as it has always bin the cuſtom of ſom People when they can neither anſwer well nor defend, had recourſe to Diffamation and perſonal Reflections, which, had they bin true, could not derogat from the force of his Arguments; but, being falſe, muſt be cal'd by their true names of Lying and Slander. Our Author therfore intreats thoſe who have found the leiſure to read his name unwor-

thily diffam'd, that they would be ſo good and ſo patient as to hear the ſame Perſon not unneedfully defended. Being accus'd of having bin an inordinat and riotous Youth vomited out of the Univerſity, he makes this reply: " For this commodious Ly I thank him; for it " has given me an apt occaſion to acknowlege " publicly with all grateful mind that more " than ordinary Favor and Reſpect which I " found above any of my Equals at the hands " of thoſe courteous and learned Men, the " Fellows of that College wherin I ſpent ſom " years: who at my parting, after having tak- " en two Degrees (as the manner is) ſignify'd " many ways how much better it would con- " tent them that I ſhould ſtay, as by many " Letters full of Kindneſs and loving Reſpect, " both before that time and long after, I was " aſſur'd of their ſingular good Affection to- " wards me. Which being likewiſe propenſe " to all ſuch as were for their ſtudious and civil " Life worthy of Eſteem, I could not wrong " their Judgments and upright Intentions ſo " much as to think I had that regard from them " for any other cauſe than that I might be " ſtill incourag'd to procede in the honeſt and " laudable Courſe, of which they apprehend- " ed I had given good proof.—As for the com- " mon Approbation or Diſlike of that place, " as now it is, that I ſhould eſteem or diſeſteem " my ſelf or any other the more for that, is " too ſimple and too credulous in the Confuter, " if he thinks to obtain with me or any right

" Diſcerner,

" Diſcerner. Of ſmall practice was that Phy-
" ſician who could not judg by what both ſhe
" or her Siſter have of a long time vomited,
" that the worſe ſtuff ſhe ſtrongly keeps in her
" Stomach, but the better ſhe is ever kecking
" at, and is queaſy. She vomits now out of
" Sickneſs, but e're it be well with her ſhe
" muſt vomit by ſtrong Phyſic.——The Sub-
" urb wherin I dwell ſhall be in my account a
" more honorable place than his Univerſity;
" which, as in the time of her better Health,
" and my own younger Judgment, I never
" greatly admir'd, ſo now much leſs. This
is not the only paſſage of the *Apology*, wherin he teſtifys his Contemt of the Univerſities, for in another place he ſays, " that what with
" Truanting and Debauchery, what with falſe
" Grounds, and the weakneſs of natural Fa-
" culties in many of them (it being a
" Maxim with ſom Men to ſend the ſim-
" pleſt of their Sons thither) perhaps there
" would be found among them as many unſo-
" lid and corrupted Judgments, both in Doc-
" trin and Life, as in any other two Corpora-
" tions of like bigneſs. This is undoubted,
" that if any Carpenter, Smith, or Weaver,
" were ſuch a bungler in his Trade, as the
" greater number of them are in their Pro-
" feſſion, he would ſtarve for any Cuſtom:
" And ſhould he exerciſe his Manufacture as
" little as they do their Talents, he would for-
" get his Art: or ſhould he miſtake his Tools

" as they do theirs, he would mar all the work " he took in hand. How few among them that " know how to write or ſpeak in a pure ſtile, " much leſs to diſtinguiſh the Ideas and various " kind of Stile! In *Latin* barbarous, and oft not " without Solœciſms, declaming in rugged " and miſcellaneous Gear blown together by " the four Winds; and in their choice prefer- " ring the gay rankneſs of APULEIUS, AR- " NOBIUS, or any modern *Fuſtianiſt*, before " the native Latiniſms of CICERO. In the " *Greek* Tongue moſt of them unletter'd or " unenter'd to any ſound Proficiency in thoſe " *Attic* Maſters of Wiſdom and Eloquence. " In the *Hebrew* Text, except it be ſom few of " them, their Lips are utterly uncircumcis'd. " No leſs are they out of the way in Philoſo- " phy, peſtring their heads with the ſapleſs " Dotages of old *Paris* and *Salamanca*. His Antagoniſt inſinuating a malicious Repreſenta- tion even of his early riſing, he tells him, that " his Morning haunts are, where they ſhould " be, at home; not ſleeping, or concocting " the Surfeits of an irregular Feaſt, but up " and ſtirring, in Winter often before the " Sound of any Bell awakens Men to Labor " or Devotion; in Summer as oft as the Bird " that firſt rouſes, or not much tardier, to read " good Authors, or cauſe them to be read, " till the Attention be weary, or the Memory " have its full fraught. Then with uſeful and " generous Labors preſerving the Bodys Health

" and

" and Hardineſs, to render a lightſom, clear,
" and not a lumpiſh Obedience to the Mind,
" for the cauſe of Religion, and our Coun-
" trys Liberty, when it ſhall require firm
" Hearts in ſound Bodies to ſtand and cover
" their Stations, rather than ſee the Ruin of
" our Proteſtation, and the inforcement of a
" ſlaviſh Life. Paſſing over his ſerious and juſt Apology for frequenting Playhouſes, I ſhall ſubjoin the Reaſon he gives why ſom terms of the Stage might appear in his Writings without having learnt them in the Theater; " which
" was not needful, ſays he, when in the Col-
" leges ſo many of the young Divines, and
" thoſe in next aptitude to Divinity, have bin
" ſeen ſo often on the Stage, writhing and un-
" boning their Clergy Lims to all the antic
" and diſhoneſt Geſtures of Trinculos, Buf-
" foons, and Bauds: proſtituting the ſhame of
" that Miniſtry, which either they had or were
" nigh having, to the eys of Courtiers and
" Court Ladys, with their Grooms and Ma-
" demoiſelles. There while they acted and
" overacted, among other young Scholars I
" was a Spectator; they thought themſelves
" gallant Men, and I thought them Fools;
" they made ſport, and I laugh'd; they miſ-
" pronounc'd, and I miſlik'd; and, to make
" up the Atticiſm, they were out, and I hiſt.
He was to anſwer next to the heavy charge of Leudneſs with common Proſtitutes; and becauſe the account he gives of himſelf upon this occa-

occaſion, and of that part of his Poetry which regards the affairs of Love, is not only eſſential to the Hiſtory of his Life, but of good Inſtruction alſo to ſuch as read ſuch pleaſant and alluring Books, I ſuppoſe none will be offended with me for laying it here before them. "I "had my time, ſays he, like others that have "good Learning beſtow'd upon them, to be "ſent to thoſe places where the opinion was it "might be ſooneſt attain'd; and, as the man-"n.r is, was not unſtudy'd in thoſe Authors "which are moſt commended. Of theſe ſom "were grave Oratorsand Hiſtorians,whoſe mat-"methought I lov'd indeed; but as my Age "then was, ſo I underſtood them. Others "were the ſmooth Elegiac Poets, wherof the "Schools are not ſcarce, whom both for the "pleaſing ſound of their numerous Writings "(which in imitation I found moſt eaſy, and "moſt agreable to Nature's part in me) and "for their matter, which what it is there be "few who know not, I was ſo allur'd to read, "that no Recreation came to me more welcom: "for that it was then thoſe years with me, "which are excus'd tho they be leaſt ſevere, "I may be ſav'd the labor to remember you. "Whence having obſerv'd them to account it "the chief Glory of their Wit that they were "ableſt to judg, to praiſe, and by that could "eſteem themſelves worthieſt to love thoſe "high Perfections, which under one or other "name they took to celebrat; I thought with "my

" my ſelf by every Inſtinct and Preſage of
" Nature (which is not wont to be falſe) that
" what emboldened them to this task, might
" with ſuch diligence as they us'd embolden
" me: and that what Judgment, Wit, or E-
" legance, was my ſhare, would herein beſt
" appear, and beſt value it ſelf, by how much
" more wiſely and with more love of Virtue
" I ſhould chuſe the Object of not unlike Praiſ-
" es. For tho theſe Thoughts to ſom will
" ſeem virtuous and commendable, to others
" only pardonable, to a third ſort perhaps idle;
" yet the mentioning of them now will end in
" ſerious. Nor blame it, Readers, in thoſe
" years to propoſe to themſelves ſuch a Re-
" ward as the nobleſt Diſpoſitions above other
" things in this Life have ſomtimes prefer'd:
" wherof not to be ſenſible, when good and
" fair in one Perſon meet, argues both a groſs
" and ſhallow Judgment, and withal an un-
" gentle and ſwainiſh Breaſt. For by the firm
" ſettling of theſe Perſuaſions I became (to
" my beſt memory) ſo much a Proficient,
" that if I found thoſe Authors any where
" ſpeaking unworthy things of themſelves, or
" unchaſt of thoſe Names which before they
" had extol'd, this effect it wrought with me,
" that from that time forward their Art I ſtill
" applauded, but the Men I deplor'd; and a-
" bove them all prefer'd the two famous Re-
" nowners of BEATRICE and LAURA,
" who never write but Honor of them to

" whom

" whom they devote their Verſe, diſplaying
" ſublime and pure Thoughts without tranſ-
" greſſion. And long it was not after, when
" I was confirm'd in the opinion that he, who
" who would not be fruſtrated of his hope to
" write well hereafter in laudable things, ought
" himſelf to be a true Poem ; that is, a compo-
" ſition and pattern of the beſt and honorableſt
" things : not preſuming to ſing the high Praiſ-
" es of heroic Men or famous Cities, unleſs
" he has in himſelf the Experience and the Prac-
" tice of all that is praiſeworthy. Theſe Rea-
" ſonings, together with a certain niceneſs of
" Nature, an honeſt Haughtineſs and Self-
" eſteem either of what I was,or what I might
" be (which let Envy call Pride) and laſtly,
" a becoming Modeſty, all uniting the Supply
" of their natural aid together, kept me ſtill
" above thoſe low Deſcents of Mind, beneath
" which he muſt deject and plunge himſelf
" that can agree to ſalable and unlawful Proſti-
" tutions. Next I betook me among thoſe
" lofty Fables and Romances which recount in
" ſolemn Cantos the Deeds of Knighthood
" founded by our victorious Kings, and from
" hence had in renown over all Chriſtendom.
" There I read it in the Oath of every Knight,
" that he ſhould defend to the expence of his
" beſt Blood, or of his Life, if it ſo befel him,
" the Honor and Chaſtity of Virgin or Ma-
" tron : from whence even then I learnt what
" a noble Virtue Chaſtity ſure muſt be, to the

" de-

" defence of which ſo many Worthies by ſuch
" a dear Adventure of themſelves had ſworn;
" and if I found in the Story afterwards any of
" them by word or deed breaking that Oath,
" I judg'd it the ſame fault of the Poet, as
" that which is attributed to HOMER, to
" have written undecent things of the Gods.
" Only this my mind gave me, that every free
" and gentle Spirit without that Oath ought to
" be born a Knight, nor needed to expect the
" gilt Spur, or the laying of a Sword upon
" his Shoulder, to ſtir him up both by his
" Counſil and his Arm, to ſecure and protect
" the weakneſs of any attemted Chaſtity. So
" that even thoſe Books, which to many o-
" thers have bin the fuel of Wantonneſs and
" looſe Living (I cannot think how, unleſs by
" divine Indulgence) prov'd to me ſo many
" Inticements, as you have heard, to the love
" and ſtedfaſt obſervation of that Virtue which
" abhors the Society of Bordellos. Thus
" from the Laureat Fraternity of Poets, riper
" years, and the ceaſleſs round of Study and
" Reading led me to the ſhady walks of Phi-
" loſophy; but chiefly to the divine Volumes of
" PLATO, and his equal XENOPHON: where
" if I ſhould tell you what I learnt of Chaſtity
" and Love (I mean that which is truly ſo,
" whoſe charming cup is only Virtue, which
" ſhe bears in her hand to thoſe who are wor-
" thy; the reſt are cheated with a thick in-
" toxicating Potion, which a certain Sorcereſs,

" the

" the Abuſer of Love's Name, carries about:
" and if I ſhould tell you how the firſt and
" chiefeſt Office of Love begins and ends in
" the Soul, producing thoſe happy Twins of
" her divine Generation, Knowlege and Vir-
" tue) with ſuch abſtracted Sublimities as
" theſe, it might be worth your liſtening,
" Readers, as I may one day hope to have you
" in a ſtill time, and when there ſhall be no
" chiding. Thus far our Author, who after-
wards made this Character good in his inimi-
table Poem of *Paradiſe Loſt*: and before this
time in his *Comus* or Mask preſented at *Ludlow*
Caſtle, like which Piece in the peculiar diſpo-
ſition of the Story, the ſweetneſs of the Num-
bers, the juſtneſs of the Expreſſion, and the
Moral it teaches, there is nothing extant in any
Language. But to procede with the reſt of
the Apology, he's in it very ſevere upon the
Clergy, not only becauſe in his Judgment he
condemn'd ſeveral of their Maxims, but alſo
provok'd by the ill uſage he receiv'd. Cer-
tainly nothing more barbarous and inhuman
ever proceded from the mouth of Pope or Muf-
ti, than this ſaying of his Antagoniſt, " You
" that love Chriſt, and know this miſcreant
" Wretch, ſtone him to death, leſt you ſmart
" for his Impunity. No wonder that ſo many
are ſcandaliz'd when they find the name of
CHRIST moſt impudently alleg'd to counte-
nance ſuch deviliſh Practices, when there is no-
thing more evident than that he expreſly injoin'd
his

his Followers to forgive their Enemies, and not to purſue 'em with the Spirit of Revenge, but rather to reclame them from their Errors, and to do 'em all the good they could. Our Author, on the other hand, carries his Reſentments, no doubt, too far, when the following words could drop from his Pen. "There be "ſuch in the World, and I among thoſe, who "nothing admire the Idol of a Biſhoprick; and "hold that it wants ſo much to be a Bleſ- "ſing, as that I deem it the mereſt, the falſeſt, "the moſt unfortunat Gift of Fortune: and "were the Puniſhment and Miſery of being a "Biſhop terminated only in the Perſon, and did "not extend to the Affliction of the whole Dio- "ceſs, if I would wiſh any thing in the bit- "terneſs of my Soul to an Enemy, I ſhould "wiſh him the biggeſt and fatteſt Biſhoprick. If MILTON had bin ſuch a Saint as never miſt of a favorable anſwer to his Prayers, I queſtion not but at this rate more would covet to be his Enemies than his Friends. Another mark of his good Will to the Prelats is this unpardonable Simile. "A Biſhop's Foot, ſays "he, that has all its Toes (maugre the Gout) "and a linen ſock over it, is the apteſt Em- "blem of the Prelat himſelf; who, being a "Pluraliſt, may under one Surplice hide four "Benefices, beſides the great Metropolitan To "which ſends a foul ſtench to Heaven. And in another place he calls them, "the Gulfs and "Whirlpools of Benefices, but the dry Pits of "all

" all ſound Doctrin. Agreable to theſe Flowers is his Deſcription of Chaplains ſomwhere in *Iconoclaſtes*. " Biſhops or Presbyters we know, " ſays he, and Deacons we know; but what " are Chaplains? In State perhaps they may " be liſted among the upper Serving men of " ſom great Houſhold, and be admitted to " ſom ſuch place as may ſtile them the Sewers " or Yeomenuſhers of Devotion, where the " Maſter is too reſty, or too rich to ſay his own " Prayers, or to bleſs his own Table. How much he lov'd to divert himſelf in this manner, we may perceive by his Apoſtrophe to the Presbyterian Miniſters, who were heavily branded by King CHARLES the Firſt, tho after his Death they would fain be thought his very dutiful and good Friends. " O ye Mini- " ſters, ſays MILTON, read here what work " he makes among your Gallypots, your Balms, " and your Cordials, and not only your ſweet " Sippets in Widows Houſes, but the huge " Gobbets wherwith he charges you to have " devour'd Houſes and all. Cry him up for a " Saint in your Pulpits, while he crys you " down for Atheiſts into Hell. Nor is he more merciful to the Liturgy, than to the Readers of it, as appears by this Character. " To " contend that it is fantaſtical, if not ſenſleſs " in ſom places, were a copious Argument, " ſpecially in the Reſponſories. For ſuch Al- " ternations as are there us'd muſt be by ſeveral " Perſons; but the Miniſter and the People can-

" not

" not ſo ſever their Intereſts as to ſuſtain ſeve-
" ral Perſons, he being the only mouth of the
" whole Body which he preſents. And if the
" People pray, he being ſilent, or they ask one
" thing and he another, it either changes the
" Property, making the Prieſt the People, and
" the People the Prieſt by turns, or elſe makes
" two Perſons and two Bodies Repreſentative
" where there ſhould be but one: which, if
" there were nothing elſe, muſt be a ſtrange
" Quaintneſs in ordinary Prayer. The like or
" worſe may be ſaid of the Litany, wherin
" neither Prieſt nor People ſpeak any intire
" Senſe of themſelves throout the whole (I
" know not what to name it) only by the
" timely contribution of their parted ſtakes,
" cloſing up as it were the Schiſm of a ſlic'd
" Prayer, they pray not in vain; for by this
" means they keep Life between them in a
" piece of gaſping Senſe, and keep down the
" Saucineſs of a continual rebounding Non-
" ſenſe. And hence it is that as it has bin far
" from the imitation of any warranted Prayer,
" ſo we all know it has bin obvious to be the
" pattern of many a Jig. And he who has
" but read in good Books of Devotion, and
" no more, cannot be ſo either of Ear or Judg-
" ment unpractis'd to diſtinguiſh what is grave,
" pathetical, devout, and what not; but he
" will preſently perceive this Liturgy all over
" in conception lean and dry, of Affections
" emty, and unmoving of Paſſion, or any

" height wherto the Soul might ſoar upon the
" wings of Zeal, deſtitute and barren. Beſides
" Errors, Tautologies, Impertinences, as thoſe
" Thanks in the Woman's Churching for her
" delivery from Sunburning and Moonblaſt-
" ing, as if ſhe had bin travelling, not in her
" Bed, but in the Deſerts of *Arabia*. So that
" while ſom men ceaſe not to admire the in-
" comparable Frame of our Liturgy, I cannot
" but admire as faſt what they think is becom
" of Judgment and Taſte in other men, that
" they can hope to be heard without Laugh-
" ter. And if this were all, perhaps it were
" a compliable matter. But when we re-
" member this our Liturgy, where we found
" it, whence we had it, and yet where we
" left it, ſtill ſerving to all the Abominations
" of the Antichriſtian Temple, it may be
" wonder'd how we can demur, whether it
" ſhould be aboliſh'd or no, and not rather
" fear we have highly offended in uſing it ſo
" long. It has indeed bin pretended to be
" more antient than the Maſs, but ſo little
" prov'd, that wheras other corrupt Liturgies
" have had ſuch a ſeeming Antiquity, that
" their Publiſhers have ventur'd to aſcribe them
" either to Saint PETER, St. JAMES, St.
" MARK, or at leaſt to CHRYSOSTOM,
" or BASIL, ours has bin never able to find
" either Age or Author allowable on whom to
" father thoſe things which therin are leaſt of-
" fenſive, except the two Creeds. I ſhall
con-

conclude my account of his Books concerning religious Controverſies with this remarkable account of his reading in the Councils and Fathers of the Church. "Som years, ſays he, "I had ſpent in the Stories of thoſe *Greec* and "*Roman* Exploits, wherin I found many things "both nobly don and worthily ſpoken: when "coming in the method of time to that age "wherin the Church had obtain'd a *Chriſtian* "Emperor, I ſo prepar'd my ſelf as being now "to read examples of Wiſdom and Good-"neſs among thoſe who were foremoſt in the "Church, not elſwhere to be parallel'd. But "to the amazement of what I expected, "Readers, I found it quite contrary; except-"ing in ſom very few, nothing but Ambition, "Corruption, Contention, Combuſtion: in-"ſomuch that I could not but love the Hiſto-"rian SOCRATES, who in the Proem to "his fifth Book profeſſes, he was fain to in-"termix Affairs of State, for that it would be "elſe an extreme annoyance to hear in a con-"tinu'd Diſcourſe the endleſs Brabbles and "Counterplottings of the Biſhops. Finding "therfore the moſt of their Actions in par-"ticular to be weak and yet turbulent, full of "Strife and yet flat of Spirit, and the ſum of "their beſt Councils there collected to be moſt "commonly in Queſtions either trivial and "vain, or elſe of ſhort and eaſy deciſion, "without that great buſtle which they made: "I concluded that if their ſingle Ambition and

" Ignorance was ſuch, then certainly united " in a Council it would be much more; and " if the compendious recital of what they there " did was ſo tedious and unprofitable, then " ſurely to fit out the whole extent of their tat- " tle in a dozen Volumes, would be a loſs of " time irrecoverable. Beſides that which I " had read of St. MARTIN, who for his laſt ſix- " teen years could never be perſuaded to be at " any Council of the Biſhops; and GREGORY " NAZIANZEN betook him to the ſame " reſolution, affirming to PROCOPIUS that " of any Council or Meeting of Biſhops he " never ſaw good end, nor any remedy ther- " by of evil in the Church, but rather an " increaſe: for, ſays he, their Contentions " and deſire of Lording no Tongue is able to " expreſs.

IN the year 1643 he chang'd his condition, and was marry'd to MARY the Daughter of RICHARD POWEL of *Forreſthill* in *Oxfordſhire*, a Juſtice of the Peace, and a man of good figure in that Country. But whether it was that this young Woman, accuſtom'd to a large and jovial Family, could not live in a Philoſophical Retirement; or that ſhe was not perfectly ſatisfy'd with the Perſon of her Husband; or laſtly, that, becauſe her Relations were all addicted to the Royal Intereſt, his Democratical Principles were diſagreable to her Humor (nor is it impoſſible that the Father repented of his match upon the proſpect of ſom Succeſs on the King's ſide,

ſide, who then had his Headquarters at *Oxford*) or whatever were the reaſon, 'tis certain that after he injoy'd her Company at *London* about a month, ſhe was invited by her Friends to ſpend the reſt of the Summer in the Country; to which he conſented, on condition of her return by *Michaelmas*. Yet he ſaw her not at the time appointed, and, after receiving ſeveral of his Letters without ſending him any anſwer, ſhe did at length poſitively refuſe to com, diſmiſſing his Meſſenger with contemt. This uſage incens'd him to that degree, that he thought it againſt his Honor and Repoſe to own her any longer for his Wife. He made that time however as eaſy to himſelf as he might, ſomtimes by keeping a gaudy day with his Friends, and at other times in converſation with the Lady MARGARET LEE, Daughter to the Earl of *Marlborough*, whoſe ſprightly Wit and good Senſe drew frequent Viſits from him, and for whom he had a ſingular eſteem, which he has left recorded by a Sonnet in her Praiſe among his other occaſional Poems. He thought it now high time to juſtify by proper Arguments the firm Reſolution he had taken of never receiving his Wife back again; and therfore in the year 1644 he publiſh'd his *Doctrin and Diſciplin of Divorce*, which he dedicated to the Parlament and to the Aſſembly of Divines, that as they were buſy then about the general Reformation of the Kingdom, they might alſo take this particular caſe

of domeſtic Liberty into their conſideration: for he thought all the boaſted Freedom of public Judicatures ſignify'd little, if in the mean while one muſt be oblig'd to indure a kind of Servitude at home below the Dignity of a Man. "What thing, ſays he, is more inſtituted to "the Solace and Delight of Man than Marri- "age? And yet the miſinterpreting of ſom "Scriptures directed mainly againſt the Abu- "ſers of the Law for Divorce given by "MOSES, has chang'd the Bleſſing of Matri- "mony not ſeldom into a familiar and cohabit- "ing Miſchief; at leaſt, into a drooping and "diſconſolat houſhold Captivity, without Re- "fuge or Redemtion. So ungovern'd and ſo "wild a race dos Superſtition run us, from one "Extreme of abus'd Liberty into the other of "unmerciful Reſtraint! Tho God in the firſt "ordaining of Marriage taught us to what end "he did it (the words expreſly implying the apt "and chearful Converſation of Man with Wo- "man, to comfort and refreſh him of the evil "of a ſolitary Life; not mentioning the pur- "poſe of Generation till afterwards, as being "but a ſecondary end in Dignity tho not in "Neceſſity) yet now if any two be but once "handed in the Church, and have taſted in any "ſort the nuptial Bed, let them find them- "ſelves never ſo miſtaken in their Diſpoſitions "thro any Error, Concealment, or Miſadven- "ture; that thro their different Tempers, "Thoughts, and Conſtitutions, they can nei-

" ther be to one another a remedy againſt " Lonelineſs, nor live in any Union or Con- " tentment all their days: yet they ſhall " (ſo they be but found ſutably weapon'd to " the leaſt poſſibility of ſenſual Enjoyment) " be made in ſpite of Antipathy to fadg toge- " ther, and combine, as they may, to their un- " ſpeakable Weariſomneſs, and deſpair of all " ſociable Delight, in the Ordinance which " God eſtabliſh'd to that very end. Then he largely ſhews all the unjuſt Sanctions concerning Marriage to be owing to the Superſtition of ſom antient Fathers, and to the deſign of promoting the Gain or Authority of the Clergy, as they make a part of the Canon Law: For the *Greecs*, the *Romans*, and all civiliz'd Nations, did not only allow of Divorce upon mutual Averſion or Conſent; but in many other caſes, beſides the violation of the nuptial Bed, there was a Separation made on the Petition of one Party, tho the other ſhould not be willing. His purpoſe, in ſhort, is to ſhew that there are other ſufficient Reaſons for Divorce beſides Adultery; and that to prohibit any ſort of Divorce but ſuch as are excepted by MOSES, is unjuſt and againſt the Reaſon of the Law: in handling which Heads he has, beſides his Arguments from Reaſon, had always a due care to explain thoſe Paſſages of Scripture which are thought to contradict his Opinion. The grand Poſition he maintains is, That *Indiſpoſition, Unfitneſs, or contrary Humors, proceding from any*

unchangeable cauſe in Nature, hindring and always likely to hinder the main ends and benefits of conjugal Society (that is to ſay, Peace and Delight) are greater Reaſons of Divorce than ADULTERY *or natural* FRIGIDITY, *provided there be a mutual Conſent for Separation.* And indeed it ſeems to be a perfect Tyranny to oblige a Man or Woman beyond the deſign of their Covenant: nor ſhould they, who never try'd this condition together, be hinder'd from diſcretely and orderly undoing it, when they find things otherwiſe than they promis'd themſelves; no more than in any other bargain People are puniſh'd for unwilful Ignorance: ſince, whenever both Parties are willing, they may draw back their ſtakes, and leave matters as they were before, or compound for the Damages that may be don. It ſeems likewiſe to me very groſs, that in Lawmaking (particularly in the Canon Law) a regard ſhould be had to the fit Diſpoſition of the marry'd Couples Bodies, and no conſideration of the Agreableneſs of their Minds, when the Charms of the latter are often the greateſt inducements to the conjunction of the former. And ſince no Man or Woman can be ſecure of true Information from others, nor infallible in their own Obſervations upon one another's Humors and Conditions (ſpecially ſince they are not admitted to a requiſit Familiarity for ſuch an inquiry before Marriage) it is the hardeſt thing in the world that no Clauſes ſhould be provided for caſes of this

nature.

nature. As for the common Objection, that Marriage is a Remedy againſt Fornication and Adultery, I grant it to be moſt true, if the Parties mutually love; but if it be a forc'd Compact, or afterwards diſlik'd, it is ſo far from producing this good effect, that we clearly ſee by conſtant Experience (and Reaſon may convince us all of it) that ſuch a fatal Knot expoſes Men and Women to various Temtations, breaks the Peace of Families, expoſes the Reputation of the Children, and diſturbs or deſtroys all the Duties of Society. Nor dos it anſwer the firſt Inſtitution which ſuppoſes it was not good for Man to be alone, ſince every body would rather chuſe to be alone than be forc'd to keep bad Company. To conclude, Marriage certainly, like all other Contracts, was ordain'd for the benefit of Man, and not Man created for Marriage: wherfore it ought to be ſuted to his Convenience and Happineſs, and not be made a Snare to render him uneaſy or miſerable. No Pretences can be drawn from this Opinion to favor Libertiniſm, but on the contrary, the Conduct of the Oppoſers of it may be terribly hamper'd with infamous Conſequences, on which we ſhall not inſiſt in this place, referring the curious to MILTON'S own Book. As for the Popiſh and ridiculous practice in certain Spiritual Courts of ſeparating People from bed and board (which any Couple may agree to do themſelves) and refuſing 'em the liberty of marrying more for their convenience

venience (if the Civil Power dos not interpoſe for their Relief) I ſhall have a more proper opportunity to ſhew the Miſchief and Unreaſonableneſs of it.

ON the firſt appearing of this Book, the Clergy did generally declame againſt it, and fix'd upon the Author the uſual Reproaches of Atheiſm, Hereſy, Leudneſs, and what not? They daily inſtigated the Parlament, which little minded their Clamors, to paſs their Cenſure on it; and at laſt one of them in a Sermon before that Auguſt Aſſembly, on a day of Humiliation, roundly told them that there was a wicked Book abroad which deſerv'd to be burnt, and that among their other Sins they ought to repent it had not yet bin branded with a mark of their Diſpleaſure. This man's main accuſation being, that MILTON taught other cauſes of Divorce than were mention'd by CHRIST and his Apoſtles, which was alſo urg'd againſt him at the ſame time by ſom others, he publiſh'd the *Tetrachordon*, dedicated to the Parlament, or his Expoſition of the four chief Paſſages of Scripture that treat of Marriage, and the nullifying of the ſame, namely *Gen.* 1. 27, &c. *Gen.* 2. 18, &c. *Deut.* 24. 1, &c. *Mat.* 5. 31, &c. and *Mat.* 29. 3, &c. Other places out of the Epiſtles he alſo occaſionally explains; he alleges the Authority of thoſe great Men who favor'd his Opinion, ſets down the determination of the Imperial Laws, with more proofs that are uſual in ſuch caſes.

On

On this Book our Author himſelf made the following lines.

I did but promt the Age to quit their Clogs
By the known Rules of antient Liberty,
When ſtraight a barbarous Noiſe invirons me
Of Owls, and Cuckoos, Aſſes, Apes, and Dogs:
As when thoſe Hinds that were transform'd to Frogs
Rail'd at LATONA's twinborn Progeny,
Which after held the Sun and Moon in fee.
But this is got by caſting pearls to Hogs,
That baul for Freedom in their ſenſleſs mood,
And ſtill revolt when Truth would ſet them free.
Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;
For who loves that, muſt firſt be wiſe and good:
But from that mark how far they roave we ſee,
For all this waſte of Wealth and loſs of Blood.

THE next piece he publiſh'd on this Subject was *the Judgment of the famous Reformer* MARTIN BUCER *touching Divorce*, extracted out of the ſecond Book of the Kingdom of CHRIST, dedicated to King EDWARD the Sixth. He exactly agrees with MILTON, tho the latter had not ſeen this Book till after the publication of

of his own. He alſo ſhews very fairly, that PAULUS FAGIUS the Aſſociat of BUCER, that PETER MARTYR, ERASMUS, and GROTIUS, did teach the ſame Doctrin, that he might ſtop the mouths of ſuch as were determin'd more by theſe Names than by all the light of Reaſon or Scripture; and that he might not appear to be cal'd an Atheiſt or Libertin with more reaſon than theſe Perſons, who notwithſtanding they had affirm'd as much as he, were yet generally counted very ſober and pious.

THE fourth Book he wrote relating to Divorce was his *Colaſterion*, being a Reply to one of his Anſwerers, who, to all the Dulneſs and Ignorance imaginable, added the higheſt Bitterneſs and Malice: ſo far from tolerably underſtanding any of the Learned Languages (as in ſom ſecondhand Quotations he would be thought to do) that he could not rightly ſpell what he ſo meanly ſtole. Yet this rude Invective muſt be licens'd by Mr. CARRYL, the ſame who in his voluminous and ſenſleſs Comments did more injury to the memory of JOB, than the Devil and the *Sabeans* could inflict Torments on him in his life time. But, not content to prefix his *Imprimatur*, he pronounces his Judgment too againſt MILTON, which was a moſt unworthy treatment of him from theſe men, of whom he deſerv'd ſo well by his former Writings againſt their Enemies the Biſhops; tho, to ſpeak the truth, this was only a ſervice to the

Presby-

Presbyterians by accident: for, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he never intended by humbling the Hierarchy, to ſet up the Conſiſtorian Tribunal in the room of it. However, the following Reproach was extorted from him by their baſe Ingratitude. " Mr. Licenſer, ſays he, you " are reputed a man diſcrete enough, religious " enough, honeſt enough, that is, to an ordi- " nary competence in all theſe: But now your " turn is to hear what your own hand has earn'd " you, that when you ſuffer'd this nameleſs " Hangman to caſt into public ſuch a ſpiteful " Contumely upon a Name and Perſon deſerv- " ing of the Church and State equally to your " ſelf, and one who has don more to the preſent " advancement of your own Tribe, than you or " many of them have don for themſelves; you " forgot to be either honeſt, religious, or diſ- " crete. Whatever the State might do con- " cerning it, ſuppoſing it were a matter to ex- " pect evil from it, I ſhould not doubt to meet " among them with wiſe, and honorable, and " knowing men. But as to this brute Libel, " ſo much the more impudent and lawleſs for " the abus'd Authority which it bears, I ſay " again, that I abominat the Cenſure of Raſ- " cals and their Licenſers. Theſe are all the Pieces concerning Divorce written by MILTON, whoſe Arguments ought not to be eſteem'd the leſs cogent, becauſe occaſion'd by his domeſtic Uneaſineſs; when this reaſon would equally enervat the Apologies exhibited for Chriſtianity under

under its Perſecutors, and fruſtrat all the noble Treatiſes of Civil Government, for which we are beholding to the Lawleſneſs of Tyrants or Uſurpers; witneſs the Incomparable and Golden Diſcourſes of that Heroic Patron of Liberty, ALGERNON SIDNEY. And indeed the beſt Books we have on any Subject, are ſuch as were oppos'd to the prevalency of the contrary Opinion: for as he that was forc'd to paſs ſom part of his time in the Regions of extreme Heat or Cold, can beſt value the Bleſſings of a temperat Country; ſo none can be ſo well furniſh'd with Arguments for a good Cauſe, like ſuch as were Sufferers under a bad one: the Writings of unconcern'd and retir'd Perſons being either an Exerciſe of their Parts, and the Amuſements of idle time, or, what is worſe, pitiful Declamations without any Force, Experience, or Vivacity.

ABOUT this time MILTON wrote a ſmall piece of *Education* to SAMUEL HARTLIB, looking upon the right Inſtitution of Children to be the Nurſery of all true Liberty or Virtue; and of whatſoever in Government is good and wiſe, or in privat practice amiable and worthy.

THE next Book he wrote was his *Areopagitica*, or an Oration to the Parlament of *England* for the liberty of Unlicens'd Printing; in which he proves that the Republics of *Greece* and *Italy* never cenſur'd any but immoral, diffamatory, or atheiſtical Pieces. Nor was it by In-

Inferences and Inſinuations they were to judg of Atheiſm; for they never ſuppreſt the Writings of the *Epicureans*, nor ſuch other Books denying even the Doctrins of Providence, and the future State: but it muſt have bin a formal doubt or denial of the being of a Deity. Yet it is beyond contradiction, that thoſe Nations maintain'd an excellent Government, diſtributing public and privat Juſtice, and abounding in all Knowlege and Virtue, infinitly above thoſe who have bin ever ſince the moſt rigid Purgers, Corrupters, or Executioners of Books. The *Roman* Emperors were Tyrants, and none but ſuch as would imitat them, ſhould quote their Examples. The Primitive Chriſtians obſerv'd no Uniformity of Conduct in this Affair. At firſt they were for reading all the Works of the *Gentils*, but none of thoſe they reckon'd Heretical among themſelves; after this they were only for confuting the Books of the Heretics, and ſuppreſſing thoſe of the *Gentils*, even ſuch as did not in the leaſt concern Religion: for about the year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Council, the very Biſhops were prohibited the reading of Heathen Authors. Had this infamous and barbarous Reſolution bin throly executed (for it had but too much effect) to what a degree of Ignorance and meanneſs of Spirit it would have reduc'd the World, depriving it of ſo many inimitable Hiſtorians, Orators, Philoſophers, and Poets, the Repoſitories of ineſtimable Treaſure, conſiſting of warlike

like and heroic Deeds, the beſt and wiſeſt Arts of Government, the moſt perfect Rules and Examples of Eloquence or Politeneſs, and ſuch divine Lectures of Wiſdom and Virtue, that the loſs of CICERO's Works alone, or thoſe of LIVY, could not be repair'd by all the Fathers of the Church. In proceſs of time, when the Clergy begun to be exalted even above the ſupreme Magiſtrat himſelf, they burnt and deſtroy'd every thing that did not favor their Power or Superſtition, and laid a reſtraint on Reading as well as Writing, without excepting the very Bible; and thus they proceeded till the Inquiſition reduc'd this abominable practice to the perfection of an Art by Expurgatory Indexes and Licenſing. All the conſequences of this Tyranny, as depriving men of their natural Liberty, ſtifling their Parts, introducing of Ignorance, ingroſſing all Advantages to one Party, and the like, were perpetually objected before the Civil Wars by the *Preſbyterians* to the Biſhops; but no ſooner were they poſſeſt of the Biſhops Pulpits and Power, than they exercis'd the ſame Authority with more intolerable Rigor and Severity. MILTON, after ſhewing the Origin, Progreſs, and Miſchief of this Cuſtom, proves firſt that we muſt not read the Bible, the Fathers, nor almoſt any ſort of Books, if we regard the Reaſons uſually alleg'd to forbid the publiſhing of others, ſuch as the fear of wreſting or miſtaking their meaning. Secondly, that the ends pro-

propos'd cannot be attain'd after this manner. And, Thirdly, that no man is fit to be a Licenſer, not in any one ſingle Faculty, unleſs he is univerſally learn'd, or a better Scholar than all the Authors whoſe Labors he's to licenſe: and that, granting theſe things poſſible (tho they are not ſo) he could neither find ſtrength nor time enough for peruſing all Books; and ſhould he uſe Deputies, he's likelieſt to have ignorant, lazy, and mercenary Fellows. Then diſplaying the Diſcouragement that muſt follow hence to all Literature and new Diſcoveries (with the danger of ſuppreſſing Truth, and propagating Error, as it happens in Popiſh Countries, and the not reprinting of antient Authors in any Language) he proves Licenſing to be both unjuſt in it ſelf, and diſhonorable to a free Government. "To include the whole "Nation, ſays he, and thoſe that never yet "thus offended, under ſuch a diffident and "ſuſpectful Prohibition, what a diſparagement "it is may be plainly underſtood. So much "the more, ſince Debtors and Delinquents "may walk abroad without a Keeper, "but inoffenſive Books muſt not ſtir forth "without a viſible Jailor in their Title. Nor "is it to the common People leſs than a Reproach; for if we be ſo jealous over them, "as that we dare not truſt them with an *Engliſh* Pamphlet, what do we but cenſure them "for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded People, in ſuch a ſick and weak ſtate of Faith and

" Diſcretion, as to be able to take nothing but " thro the Gliſterpipe of a Licenſer? That " this is any care or love of them, we cannot " pretend, ſince in thoſe *Popiſh* Places, where " the Laity are moſt hated and deſpis'd, the " ſame ſtrictneſs is us'd over them. Wiſ- " dom we cannot call it, becauſe it ſtops but " one breach of Licenſe; nor that neither, ſee- " ing thoſe Corruptions, which it ſeeks to pre- " vent, break in faſter at other doors which " cannot be ſhut. And it reflects on the Re- " putation of our Miniſters alſo, of whoſe La- " bors we ſhould hope better, and of the Profi- " ciency which their Flocks reap by them, than " that after all this Light of the Goſpel which " is, and is to be, and after all this continual " Preaching, they ſhould be ſtill frequented " with ſuch an unprincipled, unedify'd, and " Laic Rabble, as that the whif of every new " Pamphlet ſhould ſtagger them out of their " Catechiſm. This may have much reaſon to " diſcourage the Miniſters, when ſuch a low " conceit is had of all their Exhortations and " the benefiting of their Hearers, that they are " not thought fit to be turn'd looſe to three " Sheets of Paper without a Licenſer. In a- nother place he ſays, " A man may be a " Heretic in the Truth: and if he believes " only becauſe his Paſtor ſays ſo, or the Aſ- " ſembly ſo determins, without knowing any " other Reaſon; tho his Belief be true, yet " the very Truth he holds becoms his Hereſy.

" There

" There is not any burden that ſom would " gladlier put off to another, than the charge " and care of their Religion. Who knows " not that there be ſom Proteſtants who live " in as arrant an implicit Faith as any Lay-Pa- " piſt of *Loretto?* A wealthy man, addicted " to his Pleaſures and his Profit, finds Reli- " gion to be a Traffic ſo intangl'd, and of ſo " many pidling accounts, that of all Myſteries " he cannot indure to keep a ſtock going upon " that trade. What dos he therfore, but re- " ſolves to give over toiling, and to find out " ſom Factor to whoſe care and credit he may " commit the whole management of his reli- " gious Affairs; and that muſt be ſom Divine " of Note and Eſtimation. To him he ad- " heres, reſigns the whole Warehouſe of his " Religion with all the Locks and Keys into his " cuſtody; and indeed makes the very Perſon " of that Man his Religion, eſteems his aſſo- " ciating with him a ſufficient evidence and " commendation of his own Piety. So that a " man may ſay his Religion is now no more " within himſelf, but is becom a dividual mov- " able, and gos and coms near him according " as that good man frequents the Houſe. " He entertains him, gives him Gifts, feaſts " him, lodges him; his Religion coms home " at night, prays, is liberally ſup'd, and " ſumtuouſly laid aſleep; riſes, is ſaluted, " and (after the Malmſy, or ſom well ſpic'd " Brewage, and better breakfaſted than he

" whoſe Morning-appetit would have gladly
" ſed on green Figs between *Bethany* and *Je-*
" *ruſalem*) his Religion walks abroad at eight,
" and leaves his kind Entertainer in the Shop
" trading all day without his Religion. Ano-
" ther ſort there be, who, when they hear
" that all things ſhall be order'd, all things re-
" gulated and ſetled, nothing written but what
" paſſes thro the Cuſtomhouſe of certain Pub-
" licans that have the tunnaging and poundag-
" ing of all freeſpoken Truth, will ſtraight
" give themſelves up into your hands, make
" 'em and cut 'em out what Religion you
" pleaſe; there be Delights, there be Recrea-
" tions, and jolly Paſtimes that will fetch the
" day about from Sun to Sun, and rock the te-
" dious year as in a delightful dream. What
" need they torture their heads with that which
" others have taken ſo ſtrictly and ſo unalter-
" ably into their own purveying? Theſe are
" the Fruits which a dull Eaſe and Ceſſation of
" our Knowlege will bring forth among the
" People. Nor much better will be the conſe-
" quence among the Clergy themſelves. It is
" no new thing never heard of before for a
" Parochial Miniſter, who has his Reward,
" and is at his HERCULES Pillars in a warm
" Benefice, to be eaſily inclinable (if he has
" nothing elſe that may rouſe up his Studies)
" to finiſh his Circuit in an *Engliſh* Concor-
" dance, and a Topic Folio, the Gatherings
" and Sayings of a ſober Graduatſhip, a Har-

" mony

" mony and a Catena, treading the conſtant
" round of certain common doctrinal Heads,
" attended with their Uſes, Motives, Marks,
" and Means; out of which, as out of an Al-
" phabet or *ſol fa mi*, by forming and transform-
" ing, joining and disjoining variouſly a little
" Bookcraft, and two hours Meditation, he
" might furniſh himſelf unſpeakably to the
" performance of more than a weekly charge
" of Sermoning; not to reckon up the infinit
" helps of Interlinearies, Breviaries, Synopſes,
" and other loitering gear. But, as for the mul-
" titude of Sermons already printed on every
" Text that is not difficult, he need never fear
" penury of Pulpit Proviſion; yet if his Rear
" and Flanks be not impal'd, if his backdoor
" be not ſecur'd by the rigid Licenſer, but that
" a bold Book may now and then iſſue forth
" and give the aſſault to ſom of his old Col-
" lections in their trenches, it will concern
" him to keep waking, to ſtand in watch, to
" ſet good Guards and Sentinels about his re-
" ceiv'd Opinions, to walk the round and coun-
" terround with his Fellow-Inſpectors, fearing
" leſt any of his Flock be ſeduc'd, who alſo
" then would be better inſtructed, better exer-
" cis'd and diſciplin'd. And God ſend that
" the fear of this Diligence, which muſt then
" be us'd, do not make us affect the lazineſs
" of a licenſing Church. Such was the effect of our Author's *Areopagitica*, that the following year MABOL, a Licenſer, offer'd Reaſons a-

gainſt Licenſing; and, at his own requeſt, was diſcharg'd that Office. And certainly there's nothing deſerves more wonder, than that any wiſe People ſhould ſuffer a ſmall number of injudicious Fellows, always ready to ſuppreſs whatever is not reliſh'd by their own Sect or the Magiſtrat, to be the ſole Maſters and Judges of what ſhould or ſhould not be printed; that is, of what the Nation is to know, ſpeak, or underſtand: and I need not heſitat to affirm that ſuch a Power in the hands of any Prince (the Licenſers being always his Creatures) is more dangerous even than a ſtanding Army to Civil Liberty; nor in point of Religion is it inferior to the Inquiſition.

BUT to return to his privat Affairs, leſt he might ſeem by his ſeveral Treatiſes of Divorce not to act from an intire Conviction, but out of ſudden Reſentment, or to ſhew his Parts in maintaining a Paradox, he was ſeriouſly treating a Marriage with a young Lady of great Wit and Beauty, when one day as he was at a Relations houſe whom he often viſited, he was extremely ſurpriz'd to find his Wife (whom he thought never to have ſeen more) acknowleging her fault at his feet, and begging Forgiveneſs with tears. At firſt he ſeem'd inexorable, but his own Generoſity, and the interceſſion of Friends, ſoon procur'd a perfect Reconciliation, with an act of Oblivion for all that was paſt. The firſt fruit of her return was a Girl, born within a year after: And ſo far

was

was he from remembring former Provocations, that the Kings Intereſt in every place viſibly declining, he receiv'd his Wives Father and Mother, ſeveral of her Siſters and Brothers into his own Houſe, where they had Protection and free Entertainment till their Affairs were in a better condition. And now both his own Father dying, and his Wives Relations returning to their ſeveral Habitations, he reviv'd his Academic Inſtitution of ſom young Gentlemen, with a deſign, perhaps, of putting in practice the model of Education lately publiſh'd by himſelf. Yet this courſe was of no long continuance; for he was to be made Adjutant General to Sir WILLIAM WALLER, but that the new modelling of the Army ſoon following, and Sir WILLIAM turning cat in pan, this deſign was fruſtrated.

A LITTLE after FAIRFAX and CROMWEL had march'd thro the City with the whole Army to quell the Inſurrection of BROWN and MASSY, now grown diſcontented likewiſe with the Parlament, our Author chang'd his great Houſe for one more accommodated to his Circumſtances, where in the midſt of all the noiſe and confuſion of Arms, he led a quiet and privat Life, wholly delighted with the Muſes, and proſecuting his indefatigable ſearch after uſeful and ſolid Knowlege.

HAVING occaſionally mention'd that Great man General FAIRFAX, I ſhall ſubjoin here, becauſe it is not printed among his other

Poems, a Sonnet our Author ſent him.

FAIRFAX, whoſe Name in Arms thro *Europe* rings,
And fills all mouths with Envy or with Praiſe,
And all her jealous Monarchs with Amaze,
And Rumors loud which daunt remoteſt things:
Thy firm unſhaken Valor ever brings
Victory home, while new Rebellions raiſe
Their *Hydra* Heads, and the falſe *North* diſplays
Her broken League to imp her Serpent Wings.
O yet a nobler task awaits thy Hand:
For what can War but Acts of War ſtill breed,
Till injur'd Truth from Violence be freed,
And public Faith be reſcu'd from the brand
Of public Fraud? In vain dos Valor bleed,
While Avarice and Rapine ſhare the Land.

The following lines, never likewiſe publiſh'd among his Poems, he wrote to Sir HENRY VANE the Younger.

VANE, young in years, but in ſage Counſils old,
Than whom a better Senator ne'er held
The Helm of *Rome* (when Gowns, not Arms repel'd
The fierce *Epirot*, and the *African* bold)

Whether

Whether to ſettle Peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow States hard to be ſpel'd.
Then, to adviſe how War may beſt b'upheld,
Man'd by her two main Nerves, Iron and Gold,
In all her Equipage: Beſides to know
Both ſpiritual and civil, what each means,
What ſerves each thou haſt learn'd, which few have don.
The bounds of either Sword to thee we ow;
Therfore on thy right hand Religion leans,
And reckons thee in chief her eldeſt Son.

BUT after CHARLES the Firſt (ſomtime before judg'd an Enemy by the Parlament) was made a Priſoner by their victorious Army, afterwards judicially try'd and condemn'd, and the form of the Government was chang'd into a Democracy or Free State, the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, who from the beginning were the King's mortal Enemies, but now inrag'd that the *Independents* and other Sects ſhould enjoy either Liberty or Life (not angry at the Fact but the Faction) did tragically declame in their Pulpits, that the King's Uſage was very hard, that his Perſon was ſacred and inviolable, and that any violence offer'd to him in the field (much leſs by the hands of an Executioner) was contrary to the Doctrin of the Reform'd Churches. This oblig'd MILTON in the year 49 to write his *Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrats*, wherin he labors to prove that it is not only

only in it ſelf a moſt equitable thing, but that it has alſo bin ſo eſteem'd by the free and conſidering part of Mankind in all ages, that ſuch as had the Power might call a Tyrant to account for his Maladminiſtration, and after due Conviction to depoſe or put him to death, according to the nature of his Crimes: And further ſhews, that if the ordinary Magiſtrats of any Nation refuſe to do 'em this Juſtice, that then the duty of Selfpreſervation, and the good of the whole (which is the ſupreme Law) impowers the People to deliver themſelves from Slavery by the ſafeſt and moſt effectual methods they can. As for the *Presbyterians*, who were then grown ſo tender of Majeſty (and that only becauſe they could not, abſolutely and excluſively of others, govern all mens Perſons and Conſciences) he evidently ſhews that they were the moſt zealous to take arms againſt the King, to deveſt and diſanoint him of his Dignity, nay to curſe him in all their Sermons and Pamphlets over the Kingdom (wherof there remain numerous Monuments ſtill to be produc'd) that, in a word, after they had join'd with others to a degree from which Men of Honor or Prudence could not retreat, they were louder than the *Cavaliers* themſelves to cry Diſloyalty and Treaſon. After proving at large that they broke their Allegiance to him, obey'd another Authority, and had often given Commiſſion to ſlay where they knew his Perſon could not be exemt from danger; and where, if chance or flight

flight had not ſav'd him like others, he muſt be infallibly kil'd, he ſhews how ridiculouſly it became them to pretend a tenderneſs for his Perſon or Character; wheras indeed it was neither Perſuaſion nor Remorſe, but their averſion to civil and religious Liberty that hurry'd 'em to theſe extremes. But becauſe I hope the bulk of thoſe now cal'd *Presbyterians* in *England*, ſom few leading Men excepted, are no ſuch Enemies to a Toleration, and that they underſtand no more of the Conſiſtorian, Claſſical, or Synodical Judicatories, than they allow of the Inquiſition or Hierarchy, I ſhall in this place, to diſabuſe 'em, and to let 'em ſee how much better others foreſaw their Fate than Paſſion would ſuffer themſelves at that time, inſert the following paſſage. " As for the Party cal'd *Presby-*
" *terian*, ſays MILTON, of whom I believe
" very many to be good and faithful Chriſtians,
" tho miſled by ſom of turbulent Spirit, I wiſh
" them earneſtly and calmly not to fall off
" from their firſt Principles, nor to affect Rigor
" and Superiority over Men not under them;
" not to compel unforcible things in Religion
" eſpecially, which if not voluntary, becoms
" a Sin; nor to aſſiſt the clamor and malicious
" drifts of thoſe whom they themſelves have
" judg'd to be the worſt of Men, the obdurat
" Enemies of God and his Church: nor to dart
" againſt the Actions of their Brethren, for
" want of other Argument, thoſe wreſted
" Laws and Scriptures thrown by Prelats

" and

" and Malignants againſt their own ſides,
" which tho they hurt not otherwiſe, yet taken
" up by them to the condemnation of their
" own doings, give ſcandal to all Men, and
" diſcover in themſelves either extreme Paſſion
" or Apoſtacy. Let them not oppoſe their beſt
" Friends and Aſſociats who moleſt 'em not at
" all, infringe not the leaſt of their Liberties,
" unleſs they call it their Liberty to bind other
" Mens Conſciences, but are ſtill ſeeking to live
" at peace with them, and brotherly Accord.
" Let them beware an old and perfect Enemy,
" who tho he hopes by ſowing Diſcord to make
" them his Inſtruments, yet cannot forbear
" a minute the open threatning of his deſtin'd
" Revenge upon them, when they have ſerv'd
" his purpoſes. Let them fear, therfore, if
" they be wiſe, rather what they have don al-
" ready, than what remains to do; and be
" warn'd in time that they put no confidence
" in Princes whom they have provok'd, leſt
" they be added to the Examples of thoſe that
" miſerably have taſted of the event.——I
" have ſomthing alſo to the Divines, tho brief
" to what were needful, not to be Diſturbers
" of the Civil Affairs, being in hands better
" able, and to whom it more belongs to ma-
" nage them; but to ſtudy harder, and to at-
" tend the Office of good Paſtors, not per-
" form'd by mounting twice into the Chair
" with a formal Preachment huddled up at the
" odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by in-
" ceſſant

" ceſſant pains and watching——which if they
" well conſider'd, how little leiſure would
" they find to be the moſt pragmatical Sideſ-
" men of every popular Tumult and Sedition?
" And all this while they are to learn what the
" true end and reaſon is of the Goſpel which
" they teach, and what a world it differs from
" the cenſorious and ſupercilious lording over
" Conſcience. It would be good alſo they
" liv'd ſo as might perſuade the People they
" hated Covetouſneſs, which, worſe than He-
" reſy, is Idolatry; hated Pluralities and all
" kind of Simony; left rambling from Bene-
" fice to Benefice, like ravenous Wolves ſeek-
" ing where they may devour the biggeſt.
" Let them be ſorry that, being cal'd to aſſem-
" ble about reforming the Church, they fell to
" progging and ſolliciting the Parlament (tho
" they had renounc'd the name of Prieſts) for
" a new ſettling of their Tithes and Oblations,
" and doublelin'd themſelves with ſpiritual
" places of Commodity beyond the poſſible diſ-
" charge of their Duty. Let them aſſemble in
" Conſiſtory with their Elders and Deacons to
" the preſerving of Church-Diſciplin each in his
" ſeveral charge, and not a pack of Clergymen
" by themſelves to bellychear in their preſumtu-
" ous *Sion*; or to promote deſigns to abuſe and
" gull the ſimple Laity, to ſtir up Tumults, as
" the Prelats did before them, for the mainte-
" nance of their Pride and Avarice. On this occa-
ſion I muſt remark, that by reaſon of the *Presbyte-*

rians

rians warmly joining with others the laſt Parlament to promote Penal Laws againſt the *Socinians*, I find few People will believe that thoſe in *England* differ from their Brethren in *Scotland* about Perſecution, nor that their own Sufferings of late have made 'em more tender to the Conſciences of others. This naturally leads men to think that they have not repented of their Rigor in the Civil Wars; and that ſhould the Diſſenters once more get the Secular Sword into their hands, they would preſs Uniformity of Sentiments in Religion as far as any other Proteſtants or Papiſts ever yet have don: witneſs their inhuman Treatment of DANIEL WILLIAMS (a ſober man and a judicious Divine) for no cauſe that I can diſcern, but that he made Chriſtianity plainer than ſom of his Collegues in the Miniſtry, and that, it may be, he takes a greater latitude than ſuch as thro their ignorance cannot, or will not from deſign. But what renders them moſt ſuſpected of affecting Dominion, is the Project of a Comprehenſion now on foot, wherof ſom men of figure among 'em ſeem to be ſo fond, wherby the reſt are eaſily deceiv'd, and like to be left in the lurch by certain Perſons who for ſeveral years paſt made the Hierarchy and Liturgy ſuch ſtrange bugbears: tho if the Church will pleaſe to becom a kind Mother to themſelves, and ſhew a little complaiſance for their old Friends, they are ready to pronounce her Orders, her Prayers, and her Ceremonies to be very

very innocent and harmleſs things; but miſtaken formerly for the Pillars of Antichriſt, the Symbols of Idolatry, the Dregs of Popery, the Rags of Superſtition, and Proteſtant Paint to hide the Deformities of the old *Babyloniſh* Whore. And after all, whatever ours may be, Comprehenſion in all other places of the World has never bin any thing elſe but the Combination of a few Parties to fortify themſelves, and to oppreſs all others by their united Force, or by an abſolute Excluſion from Preferment and other Advantages to which by Nature or perſonal Merit they had an equal claim with the reſt of their Fellow Citizens. Tho to be perſecuted in their turn is the juſt Judgment of God upon Perſecutors, yet Vengeance muſt be left to Heaven: and the Wiſhes of all good Men are, that the National Church, being ſecur'd in her Worſhip and Emoluments, may not be allow'd to force others to her Communion; and that all Diſſenters from it, being ſecur'd in their Liberty of Conſcience, may not be permitted to meddle with the Riches or Power of the National Church.

AFTER theſe things our Author thinking to have leiſure enough for ſuch an undertaking, apply'd himſelf intirely to the Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Nation, which he intended from the remoteſt traditional beginning to continue down to his own time, and had already finiſh'd four Books of the ſame, when neither courting nor expecting any ſuch Preferment, he was taken

ken into the Service of the New Commonwealth. Hitherto he gratuitouſly lent his Country the aid of his Pen, content with the eſteem of good Men, and the internal Satisfaction of having perform'd his Duty; while others that deſerv'd it not ſo well, were variouſly rewarded, ſom with Riches, ſom with Honors, and all with Liberty. But the Publication of the *Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrats* reviving the fame of his other Books, and as well ſhewing the Excellency of his Stile and Capacity, as his Affection to the good old Cauſe, he was made Secretary to the Council of State for all foren Affairs: for the Republic ſcorn'd to acknowlege that ſort of Tribute to any Prince in the World, which is now paid to the *French* King, of managing their Matters only in his Language; and took up a noble Reſolution, to which they firmly adher'd, that they would neither write to others, nor receive their Anſwers, except in the *Latin* Tongue, as being common to them all, and the propereſt in it ſelf to contain great things, or the Subject of future Pens. But this Proceding could not be acceptable to thoſe whoſe Tranſactions were aſham'd or afraid to ſee the light, and whoſe Names will not be tranſmitted to Poſterity, unleſs for dextrouſly cheating their own People, and laying the Springs of their Tyranny or Neglect in the dark, tho the Effects are ſufficiently felt by their deluded Subjects, and the Injuſtice viſibly expos'd to all diſcerning eys.

None

None could be found more fitted for ſuch a Poſt than MILTON, who quickly gain'd no leſs Reputation to himſelf than Credit to the State that imploy'd ſo able a Perſon. Of this the Letters he wrote under that and the ſucceding Adminiſtrations (for he ſerv'd OLIVER, RICHARD, and the *Rump)* are abundant evidence, being for different Reaſons admir'd by Critics and Stateſmen, as they are certain and authentic Materials for ſuch as may hereafter write the Hiſtory of thoſe times.

BUT it was not only in foren Diſpatches that the Government made uſe of his Pen; for juſt after the King's Death appear'd a Book under his Name, intitul'd *Eikon Baſilike*, wherin he vindicats himſelf in ſo many diſtinct Chapters from the chief Heads of thoſe Tyrannies charg'd upon him by the People, either as occaſions of the Civil War, or as Inhumanities committed during the ſame. This piece, like CESAR'S laſt Will, doing more execution upon the Enemy than its Author when alive, MILTON was commanded to prevent by an Anſwer thoſe ill effects the *Eikon Baſilike* might produce. Having undertaken this task, he obſerves that Kings indeed have gain'd glorious Titles from their Flatterers or Favorers for writing againſt privat men, as our HENRY the Eighth was ſtil'd *Defender of the Faith* for ingaging LUTHER; yet that no man can expect much Honor by writing againſt a King, as not uſually meeting with that force of Argument

in ſuch courtly Antagoniſts, which to confute might add to his fame. " Kings, ſays he, " tho ſtrong in Legions, are moſt commonly " but weak at Arguments; as they who e- " ver have accuſtom'd from the Cradle to uſe " their Will only as their right hand, their " Reaſon always as their left: whence unex- " pectedly conſtrain'd to that kind of Combat, " they prove but weak and puny Adverſaries. " Nevertheleſs, continues he, for their ſakes, " who thro Cuſtom, Simplicity, or want of bet- " ter teaching have not more ſeriouſly con- " ſider'd Kings than in the gaudy name of Ma- " jeſty, and admire them and their doings, as if " they breath'd not the ſame Breath with other " mortal men, I ſhall make no ſcruple to take up " this Gauntlet, tho a Kings, in the behalf of Li- " berty and the Commonwealth. Having thus accepted the Challenge, he fairly meaſures Weapons, and anſwers all the Allegations of that Book beyond the poſſibility of a Reply. But every Chapter of it ending with Devotion, model'd into the form of a privat Pſalter, he once for all gives his judgment of it in theſe words. " They, " who ſo much admire the Archbiſhops late " Breviary, and many other as good Manuals " and Handmaids of Devotion, the Lipwork " of every prelatical Liturgiſt, clapt this to- " gether, and quilted it out of Scripture Phraſe, " with as much eaſe, and as little need of Chri- " ſtian Diligence or Judgment, as belongs to " the compiling of any ordinary and ſalable " piece

" piece of *Engliſh* Divinity that the Shops va-
" lue. But he who from ſuch a kind of Pſal-
" miſtry, or any other verbal Devotion, with-
" out the pledg and earneſt of ſutable Deeds,
" can be perſuaded of a Zeal and true Righ-
" teouſneſs in the Perſon, has much yet to
" learn; and knows not that the deepeſt Policy
" of a Tyrant has bin ever to counterfeit Reli-
" gion: and ARISTOTLE in his Politics has
" mention'd that ſpecial Craft among twelve
" other tyrannical Sophiſms. Neither want
" we Examples. ANDRONICUS COM-
" NENUS the *Byzantin* Emperor, tho a moſt
" cruel Tyrant, is reported by NICETAS
" to have bin a conſtant Reader of St. PAUL's
" Epiſtles; and by continual Study had ſo in-
" corporated the Phraſe and Stile of that A-
" poſtle into all his familiar Letters, that the
" Imitation ſeem'd to vy with the Original.
Then having inſtanced our RICHARD the Third, to whom he might have added TARQUIN who built the ſtately Temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS, and the *Ruſſian* BASILOWITZ that pray'd ſeven times a day, he diſcovers a piece of Royal Plagiariſm, or (to be more charitable) of his Chaplains Prieſtcraft; for one of King CHARLES's Prayers, ſtil'd *a Prayer in the time of Captivity*, deliver'd by himſelf to Dr. JUXON, and twice printed among his Works in Folio, is plainly ſtolen and taken without any conſiderable variation from the mouth of PAMELA, an imaginary Lady,

to a Heathen Deity in Sir PHILIP SIDNEY's *Arcadia*, This has bin mention'd by others after MILTON, and thoſe Prayers laid parallel together on divers occaſions. One of MILTON's Sagacity could not but perceive by the Compoſition, Stile, and timing of this Book, that it was rather the production of ſom idle Clergyman, than the work of a diſtreſt Prince, either in perpetual hurry at the head of a flying Army, or remov'd from one Priſon to another during his unfortunat Captivity till his Death. Beſides the Theological Phraſes frequently interſpers'd, there are ſuch fanciful Alluſions and bold Comments in it upon the ſecret Judgments of God, as ſmell rankly of a Syſtem or the Pulpit. When he mentions the fate of the HOTHAMS, by whom he was repuls'd at *Hull*, he ſays of the Father, *That his Head was divided from his Body, becauſe his Heart was divided from the King: and that two Heads were cut off in one Family for affronting the Head of the Commonwealth; the eldeſt Son being infected with the Sin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country.* Theſe and ſuch Arguments drawn only from the Book it ſelf, without any further light, induc'd a great many at that time to ſuſpect the Impoſture; and that becauſe CROMWEL got ſuch a Reputation among the People for his ſuppos'd Piety, the Royaliſts would repreſent the King to be a wiſer Man and better Chriſtian. But in the year 1686 Mr. MILLINGTON happening to ſell the late Lord ANGLE-

ANGLESEY's Library by Auction, put up an *Eikon Baſilike*; and a few bidding very low for it, he had leiſure to turn over the Leaves, when to his great Surprize he perceiv'd written with the ſame noble Lords own hand, the following *Memorandum*.

KING CHARLES *the Second, and the Duke of* York, *did both (in the laſt Seſſions of Parlament, 1675. when I ſhew'd them in the Lords Houſe the written Copy of this Book, wherin are ſom Corrections and Alterations written with the late King* CHARLES *the Firſt's own hand) aſſure me, that this was none of the ſaid King's compiling, but made by Dr.* GAUDEN *Biſhop of* Exeter: *which I here inſert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by atteſting ſo much under my own hand.*

ANGLESEY.

This occaſion'd the World to talk; and ſeveral knowing the Relation which the late Dr. ANTHONY WALKER an *Eſſex* Divine had to Biſhop GAUDEN, they inquir'd of him what he knew concerning this Subject, which

he then verbally communicated to them: but being afterwards highly provok'd by Dr. HOLLINGWORTH's harſh and injurious Reflections, he was oblig'd in his own defence to print an account of that Book, wherin are ſufficient Anſwers to all the Scruples or Objections that can be made, and wherof I here inſert an exact Epitome. He tells us in the firſt place that Dr. GAUDEN was pleas'd to acquaint him with the whole deſign, and ſhew'd him the Heads of divers Chapters, with ſom others that were quite finiſh'd: and that Dr. GAUDEN asking his opinion of the thing, and he declaring his Diſſatisfaction that the World ſhould be ſo impos'd upon, GAUDEN bid him look on the Title, which was *the King's Portraiture*; for that no man is ſuppos'd to draw his own Picture. A very nice Evaſion! He further acquaints us, that ſom time after this being both in *London*, and having din'd together, Dr. GAUDEN took him along with him to Dr. DUPPA the Biſhop of *Salisbury* (whom he made alſo privy to his deſign) to fetch what Papers he had left before for his peruſal, or to ſhew him what he had ſince written: and that upon their return from that place, after GAUDEN and DUPPA were a while in privat together, the former told him the Biſhop of *Salisbury* wiſh'd he had thought upon two other Heads, the Ordinance againſt the Common Prayer Book, and the denying his Majeſty the attendence of his Chaplains; but that DUPPA deſir'd him to finiſh the

* reſt,

reſt, and he would take upon him to write two Chapters on thoſe Subjects, which accordingly he did. The reaſon, it ſeems, why Dr. GAUDEN himſelf would not perform this, was, firſt, that during the Troubles he had forborn the uſe of the Liturgy, which he did not extraordinarily admire; and Secondly, that he had never bin the King's Chaplain, wheras Dr. DUPPA was both his Chaplain, his Tutor, and a Biſhop, which made him more concern'd about theſe Particulars. Thirdly, Dr. WALKER informs us that Dr. GAUDEN told him he had ſent a Copy of *Eikon Baſilike* by the Marquiſs of *Hartford* to the King in the *Ile of Wight*; where it was, we may be ſure, that he made thoſe Corrections and Alterations with his own Pen, mention'd in my Lord ANGLESEY'S Memorandum: and which gave occaſion to ſom then about him that had accidentally ſeen, or to whom he had ſhown the Book, to believe the whole was his own. Fourthly, Dr. GAUDEN, after the Reſtoration, told Dr. WALKER, that the Duke of *York* knew of his being the real Author, and had own'd it to be a great ſervice; in conſideration of which, it may be, the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, tho he was afterwards put off with that of *Worceſter*, was promis'd him. And, notwithſtanding it was then a Secret, we now know that in expectation of this Tranſlation, the great Houſe on *Clapham* Common was built indeed in the name of his Brother Sir DE-

NIS, but really to be a Manſionhouſe for the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*. Fifthly, Dr. WALKER ſays, that Mr. GAUDEN, the Doctor's Son, his Wife, himſelf, and Mr. GIFFORD who tranſcrib'd it, did believe it as firmly as any fact don in the place where they were; and that in that Family they always ſpoke of it among themſelves (whether in Dr. GAUDEN's preſence or abſence) as undoubtedly written by him, which he never contradicted. We learn, Sixthly, that Dr. GAUDEN, after part of it was printed, gave to Dr. WALKER with his own hand what was laſt ſent to *London*; and after ſhewing him what it was, ſeal'd it, giving him cautionary Directions how to deliver it, which he did on Saturday the 23*d* of *December*, 1648. for Mr. ROYSTON the Printer, to Mr. PEACOCK Brother to Dr. GAUDEN's Steward, who, after the Impreſſion was finiſh'd, gave him, for his trouble, ſix Books, wherof he always kept one by him. To theſe particulars Dr. WALKER adds, that the Reaſon why the Covenant is more favorably mention'd in *Eikon Baſilike*, than the King or any other of his Party would do, was beecauſe Dr. GAUDEN himſelf had taken it: That in the devotional part of this Book there occur ſeveral Expreſſions which were habitual to Dr. GAUDEN in his Prayers, which always in privat and public were conceiv'd or extemporary: and that to his knowlege it was Dr. GAUDEN, being beſt acquainted with the

Beauty of his own Sayings, who made that Collection of Sentences out of *Eikon Baſilike*, intitul'd, *Apophthegmata Caroliniana*. Theſe and ſom Obſervations about the ſame individual Perſons variation of Stile on different Subjects, with the facility and frequency of perſonating others, may be further conſider'd in Dr. WALKER's original Account. In this condition ſtood the Reputation of this Book, till the laſt and finiſhing diſcovery of the Impoſture was made after this manner. Mr. ARTHUR NORTH, a Merchant now living on *Towerhil, London*, a man of good Credit, and a Member of the Church of *England*, marry'd the Siſter of her that was Wife to the Doctor's Son CHARLES GAUDEN, who dying left ſom Papers with his Widow, among which Mr. NORTH, being concern'd about his Siſter in Law's Affairs, found a whole bundle relating to *Eikon Baſilike:* Theſe Papers old Mrs. GAUDEN left to her darling Son JOHN, and he to his Brother CHARLES. There is firſt a Letter from Secretary NICHOLAS to Dr. GAUDEN, 2. The Copy of a Letter from Biſhop GAUDEN to Chancellor HYDE, where, among his other Deſerts, he pleads that what was don like a King, ſhould have a Kinglike Retribution; and that his deſign in it was to comfort and incourage the King's Friends, to expoſe his Enemies, and to convert, *&c.* There is, 3. The Copy of a Letter from the Biſhop to the Duke of *York*, wher-

in

in he ſtrongly urges his Services. 4. A Letter under Chancellor HYDE's own hand, dated the 13*th* of *March*, 1661. wherin he expreſſes his uneaſineſs under the Biſhop's importunity, and excuſes his inability yet to ſerve him: but towards the Concluſion it contains theſe remarkable words; *The Particular you mention has indeed bin imparted to me as a Secret; I am ſorry I ever knew it: and when it ceaſes to be a Secret, it will pleaſe none but Mr.* MILTON. There are other Papers in this bundle, but particularly a long Narrative of Mrs. GAUDEN's own writing, irrefragably ſhewing her Husband to be Author of *Eikon Baſilike.* It intirely confirms Dr. WALKER's account, and contains moſt of the facts we have hitherto related, with many other curious Circumſtances too long to be here inſerted, yet too extraordinary not to be known; wherfore I refer the Reader to the original Paper, or to the faithful extract made out of it before ſeveral learned and worthy Perſons, and which is printed in a Paper intitul'd, *Truth brought to light.* Thus came all the World to be convinc'd of this notorious Impoſture; which as it was dexterouſly contriv'd, and moſt cunningly improv'd by a Party whoſe Intereſt oblig'd 'em to keep the Secret, ſo it happen'd to be diſcover'd by very nice and unforeſeen Accidents. Had not GAUDEN bin diſappointed of *Wincheſter*, he had never pleaded his Merit in this affair; nor would his Wife have written her Narrative, had

had King CHARLES the Second beſtow'd one half years Rent on her after her Husband's deceaſe, which upon her Petition, and conſidering her numerous Family, none could imagin ſhould be refus'd. It was a ſlighter accident that begot a Confeſſion from two Kings, and CHARLES's own Sons: and I doubt if any other than one of Mr. MILLINGTON's great Curioſity, and no Bigotry, had the diſpoſal of my Lord ANGLESEY's Books, we ſhould never have heard of the *Memorandum*. Had not HOLLINGWORTH's indiſcrete Zeal provok'd the only Man then alive who had any perſonal knowlege of this buſineſs, Dr. WALKER had never publiſh'd his Account; nor could the whole diſcovery be ſo complete, without the leaſt intricacy or queſtion, without Mr. NORTH's Papers. When I ſeriouſly conſider how all this happen'd among our ſelves within the compaſs of forty years, in a time of great Learning and Politeneſs, when both Parties ſo narrowly watch'd over one another's Actions, and what a great Revolution in Civil and Religious Affairs was partly occaſion'd by the Credit of that Book, I ceaſe to wonder any longer how ſo many ſuppoſititious pieces under the name of CHRIST, his Apoſtles, and other great Perſons, ſhould be publiſh'd and approv'd in thoſe primitive times, when it was of ſo much importance to have 'em believ'd; when the Cheats were too manyon all ſides for them to reproach one another,

ther, which yet they often; did when Commerce was not near ſo general as now, and the whole Earth intirely overſpread with the darkneſs of Superſtition. I doubt rather the Spuriouſneſs of ſeveral more ſuch Books is yet undiſcover'd, thro the remoteneſs of thoſe Ages, the death of the Perſons concern'd, and the decay of other Monuments which might give us true Information; eſpecially when we conſider how dangerous it was always for the weaker ſide to lay open the tricks of their Adverſaries, tho never ſo groſs: and that the prevailing Party did ſtrictly order all thoſe Books which offended them to be burnt, or otherwiſe ſuppreſt, which was accordingly perform'd, as well in obedience to the Laws by ſom, as out of conſcientious Obligations by others, which made the execution more effectual than uſually happens in caſes of an ordinary nature. Of this we are furniſh'd with numberleſs Examples by Church-Hiſtorians, who have preſerv'd intire ſeveral of the Laws and Orders enacted to this purpoſe. From theſe general Remarks I muſt obſerve in particular, that 'tis likely when CHARLES the Second knew the forgery of this Book, he was fully confirm'd in the Popiſh Religion, which in his Childhood he learnt of his Mother, and in his Exile by his foren Converſation. The Author of *Eikon Baſilike* deſires him to adhere to the Church of *England*, as neceſſary both for his Soul's peace, and that of the Kingdom. This and the like Exhortations

tions of Reſpect for the Liturgy and Clergy, might ſhew, at leaſt, the Judgment of his dying Father; but from Dr. GAUDEN it was mere Intereſt and Impoſture. CHARLES therfore, who knew MORLEY, DUPPA, and others, to approve of this Fraud to which they were privy, and for whoſe Advantage the belief of it was ſerviceable, muſt either ſuſpect the Forgeries laid by Proteſtants to the charge of Popery, when he actually knew the Proteſtants to play the ſame Game: or not being able to deny the Popiſh Cheats, 'tis moſt probable the Opinion which his intimat Friends had of him was too true, that he was really of neither Church, but believed the Pretences of both to be Credulity or Craft; and that the tranſactions of his laſt Minutes were only the effects of a weak Mind in a diſtemper'd Body.

MILTON wrote alſo in the year 48. *Obſervations* upon the Repreſentation of the Preſbytery of *Belfaſt* in *Ireland*, concerning the King's Death, the breaking of the Covenant, and the Toleration of different Perſuaſions, to which theſe Prieſtlings, as he calls them, were mortal Enemies; while they call'd their own Presbyterian Government the Hedg and Bulwark of Religion, which is exactly the language of the Popiſh Inquiſition. In the ſame *Obſervations* he examins the Duke of *Ormond*'s Letter to Colonel JONES Governor of *Dublin*, perſuading him to revolt from the Parlament. MILTON is very angry that

OR-

ORMOND made a contemtuous mention of General CROMWEL, "who, according "to him, had don in a few years more eminent "and remarkable Deeds, wheron to found "Nobility in his Houſe, tho it were wanting, "and perpetual Renown to Poſterity, than "ORMOND and all his Anceſtors put together "could ſhew from any Record of their *Iriſh* "Exploits, the wideſt Scene of their Glory. But his chiefeſt Remarks are upon the Articles of Peace which ORMOND concluded in the King's Name, and by his Authority, with the Popiſh *Iriſh* Rebels, wherin they are pardon'd for the Maſſacre and Depredation of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants; acknowleg'd to be dutiful and loyal Subjects; are diſcharg'd from taking the Oath of Supremacy, principally fram'd on the account of Papiſts: and, in a word, ſuch Freedoms and Privileges were granted to thoſe inhuman Butchers, as were never injoy'd by their *Engliſh* Conquerors. The Second Article impowers the *Iriſh* Parlament to repeal or ſuſpend (as they think fit) POYNING's Act, the only ſecurity of their dependence on *England*. They are intruſted by him with the Militia; and ſo indulgent was he to theſe his choice Favorits, as ridiculouſly to promiſe them the repealing of thoſe Acts which prohibited their plowing with Horſes by the Tail, or burning Oats in the Straw, marks of their ſottiſh and indocil Barbarity.

AND

AND now we com to his Maſter piece, his chief and favorit Work in Proſe, for Argument the nobleſt, as being the Defence of a whole free Nation, the People of *England*; for ſtile and diſpoſition the moſt eloquent and elaborat, equalling the old *Romans* in the purity of their own Language, and their higheſt Notions of Liberty; as univerſally ſpread over the learned World as any of their Compoſitions; and certain to endure while Oratory, Politics, or Hiſtory bear any eſteem among Men. *It cannot be deny'd*, ſays that excellent Critic *Monſieur* BAILE, *that* MILTON'S *Latin ſtile is eaſy, brisk, and elegant; nor that he defended the Republican Cauſe with a world of Addreſs and Wit:* Agreable to which Judgment is the unanimous Suffrage of Foreners, not excepting the moſt zealous Aſſertors of Monarchy. It was written upon this occaſion. CHARLES eldeſt Son to the King of the ſame name living in Exile, and wanting ſom body to paint the Death of his Father in the blackeſt Colors, either to render the Authors of it odious, the better to bring about his own return; or, if that effect did not anſwer, to move the Compaſſion of Foren Potentats to procure his Reſtoration, was told of SALMASIUS a Profeſſor of the Univerſity of *Leyden* in *Holland*, as the fitteſt perſon for his purpoſe. This Man had got ſuch a mighty Name from his *Plinian Exercitations*, and his critical Notes on ſeveral *Latin* and *Greec* Authors, that none was thought

thought ſo knowing to equal, or ſo hardy to incounter him. This Man therfore CHARLES the Second hir'd for a hundred *Jacobuſſes* to write that bulky Volume, which in the year 49 appear'd under the Title of *Defenſio Regia*, or a Defence of CHARLES the Firſt to CHARLES the Second. SALMASIUS being better verſt in the Writings of Grammarians, and Lexicographers (which ſort of Men were his chief Admirers) than in thoſe of Legiſlators and Politicians, gave a true Demonſtration that mere Scholars, when they meddle with any thing that requires Reaſoning or Thought, are but mere Aſſes: for being wholly occupy'd about frivolous Etymologies, or the bare ſound of words, and living moſt of their time excluded from Converſation, bury'd in duſt among Worms and mouldy Records, they have no exact knowlege of things, and are perfect ſtrangers to all the uſeful buſineſs of the World. Accordingly the Royal Defence was deſtitute of Eloquence or Art, being nothing elſe but a huge heap of Rubbiſh, conſiſting of injudicious Quotations, very diſorderly piec'd together, ſeldom making for his purpoſe; and, when they ſeem'd to favor him, quite ſpoil'd again by his own impertinent Comments. But what's worſe than all the reſt, he appear'd on this occaſion ſuch an abſolute ſtranger and bungler in his own Province, as to open a large Field for MILTON to divert himſelf with his barbarous Phraſes and Soleciſms.

ciſms. Nor had he more Wit likewiſe than to publiſh his *Defence* of Monarchy in *Holland*, at the ſame time that he had a Penſion from that Free State, and was actually entertain'd in their Service; for tho the *Dutch* were then no good Friends to the *Engliſh*, being jealous of their growing Power, yet they could not be pleas'd with any Writing oppos'd to the common Cauſe of Liberty, and accordingly they blam'd SALMASIUS, and order'd the *Defence* to be ſuppreſt. No ſooner did this Book appear in *England*, but MILTON being then preſent, was unanimouſly nam'd by every Member of the Council of State to anſwer it; ſo good an opinion they had of his Capacity, neither did he fail their Expectations: for within a very ſhort time he publiſh'd his *Defenſio pro Populo Anglicano*, or the Defence of the People of *England*; wherin, to ſpeak no more of his admirable Stile than we have don already, nor of his handſomly expoſing the Ignorance or Fury of SALMASIUS, he defended the Procedings of the People of *England* from the beginning of the Civil War to that time, with ſuch Force of Arguments and Authority of Examples, that ſince there could be no diſpute about the Victory he obtain'd over his Adverſary, the only doubt remaining with his Readers was, which ſhould be counted ſuperior, his own great Reading, Politeneſs, or Judgment. The Subject is too nice for me to make any extract of it according to the method I ob-

obſerv'd in ſom of his other Books; and beſides, it deſerves ſo much to be conſider'd at length in the Original, or in the *Engliſh* Verſion by Mr. WASHINGTON of the *Temple*, that I will not deprive any body of that pleaſure. It's true indeed, that ſom have blam'd MILTON for his rough uſage of SALMASIUS, nor herein will I pretend wholly to excuſe him: But when I conſider how baſely the whole *Engliſh* Nation was abus'd by SALMASIUS, as ſo many Barbarians or Enthuſiaſts, fiercer than their own Maſtifs and yet ſillier than *Athenian* Owls, it gos a great way with me towards MILTON's Juſtification; and if we add to this, that he ſpeaks not in his own Perſon, but as the Mouth of a potent State traduc'd by a pitiful Profeſſor, there be thoſe in the World that will poſitively commend him. Two paſſages only I ſhall inſert here out of his Book; wherof the firſt ſhall be an Epigram he made to ridicule his Adverſary for medling with Affairs to which he was a ſtranger, having all his intelligence from inrag'd and partial Exiles; but particularly for his miſtaking of *Engliſh* Names, and his mentioning of the County Court, and Hundred.

Quis expedivit Salmaſio ſuam Hundredam?
Picamque docuit verba noſtra conari?
Magiſter artis venter, & Jacobæi
Centum, exulantis viſcera Marſupii regis.

Quod

Quod ſi doloſi ſpes refulſerit nummi,
Ipſe, Antichriſti modo qui primatum Papæ
Minatus uno eſt diſſipare ſufflatu,
Cantabit ultro Cardinalitium Melos.

Engliſh'd.

Who taught SALMASIUS, that *French* chattring Py,
To aim at *Engliſh*, and *Hundreda* cry?
The ſtarving Raſcal, fluſht with juſt a hundred
Engliſh Jacobuſſes, *Hundreda* blunder'd;
An outlaw'd King's laſt Stock. A hundred more
Would make him pimp for th' Antichriſtian Whore;
And in *Rome*'s praiſe imploy his poiſon'd Breath,
Who threaten'd once to ſtink the Pope to death.

In theſe Verſes he reflects on SALMASIUS for declaring himſelf againſt any ſort of Hierarchy in his Book *de Primatu Papæ*, and yet being a mighty ſtickler for Biſhops in his Defence of the King. The other Paſſage ſhall be the Epilogue or Concluſion of MILTON's Book. "And now I think, ſays he, that by "God's Aſſiſtance I have finiſh'd the Work I "undertook, namely to defend the noble Acti- "ons of my Countrymen at home and abroad "againſt the raging and envious madneſs of "this diſtracted Sophiſter; and to aſſert the

" common Rights of the People againſt the un-
" juſt domination of Kings, not out of any
" hatred to Kings, but Tyrants: nor have I
" purpoſely left unanſwer'd any one Argument
" alleg'd by my Adverſary, nor any Example
" or Authority quoted by him, that ſeem'd to
" have any force in it, or the leaſt color of a
" proof; perhaps I have bin guilty rather of
" the other extreme, of replying to ſom of his
" Fooleries and Trifles as if they were ſolid
" Arguments, and therby may ſeem to have
" attributed more to them than they deſerv'd.
" One thing yet remains to be don, which per-
" haps is of the greateſt concern of all, and
" that is, That you my Countrymen confute
" this Adverſary of yours your ſelves; which
" I do not ſee any other means of your effect-
" ing than by a conſtant indeavor to outdo all
" Mens bad words by your own good Deeds.
" When you labor'd under more ſorts of Op-
" preſſion than one, you betook your ſelves to
" God for Refuge, and he was graciouſly
" pleas'd to hear your moſt earneſt Prayers and
" Deſires. He glorioufly deliver'd you, the
" firſt of Nations, from the two greateſt
" Miſchiefs of this Life, and the moſt perni-
" cious to Virtue, Tyranny and Superſtition;
" he indu'd you with that Greatneſs of Soul to
" be the firſt of Mankind, who, after having
" conquer'd and captivated their own King,
" have not ſcrupl'd to condemn him judicially,
" and according to that juſt Sentence, to put

" him

" him to death. After performing ſo illuſtri-
" ous an Action as this, you ought to do no-
" thing that's mean and little, not even to
" think, much leſs to do any thing but what
" is great and ſublime. To attain which
" Praiſe there is only this way, that as you
" have ſubdu'd your Enemies in the field, ſo
" to make it appear that unarm'd and in full
" Peace you of all Mankind are ableſt to con-
" quer Ambition, Avarice, the love of Riches,
" and can beſt avoid thoſe Corruptions of Pro-
" ſperity which are apt to get the better of o-
" ther Nations; to ſhew as great Juſtice,
" Temperance, and Moderation, in preſerving
" your Liberty, as you have don Courage in
" freeing your ſelves from Slavery. Theſe are
" the only Arguments and Authorities by
" which you will be able to evince that you
" are not ſuch perſons as this Fellow repre-
" ſents you, Traitors, Robbers, Murderers,
" Parricides, Madmen; that you did not put
" your King to death out of any ambitious de-
" ſign, or a deſire of invading the Rights of o-
" thers, not out of any ſeditious Principles or ſi-
" niſter Ends, not agitated by Fury or Madneſs;
" but that it was wholly out of love to your
" Liberty, Religion, Juſtice, Virtue, and in-
" flam'd with an Affection for your Country,
" that you puniſh'd a Tyrant. But if it
" ſhould happen otherwiſe (which I pray God
" mercifully to forbid) if as you have bin va-
" liant in War, you ſhould grow debauch'd in

" Peace, you that have had ſuch viſible De-
" monſtrations of the Goodneſs of God to your
" ſelves, and his Wrath againſt your Enemies,
" and that you ſhould not learn by ſo eminent
" and memorable an Example before your eys,
" to fear God and work Righteouſneſs, for my
" part, I ſhall eaſily grant and confeſs (for I
" cannot deny it) all the ill that Liers and Slan-
" derers now think or ſpeak of you to be true.
" And you will find in a little time that God's
" Diſpleaſure againſt you will be greater than
" it has bin againſt your Adverſaries, greater
" than his benign Favor and paternal Care
" which you have experienc'd above all the
" Nations under Heaven. MILTON was rewarded with a thouſand Pounds for this performance; and how differently his Defence of the People, and that of SALMASIUS for the King were entertain'd by the curious, we may learn from the mouth of him that next appear'd for the Royal Cauſe. " What the moſt
" accompliſh'd SALMASIUS, ſays he, has
" diſcretely written in defence of the Right
" and Honor of CHARLES the *Britiſh* Mo-
" narch, murder'd by wicked Men, has born
" but one Impreſſion, and ſaw the Light with
" great difficulty; with ſo much hatred dos
" the World perſecute Truth in theſe latter
" times: but of what the moſt execrable
" MILTON has ſpitefully elaborated to ruin
" the Reputation of the deceas'd King, and to
" deſtroy the hereditary Succeſſion of the
" Crown,

" Crown, there are ſo many Editions, that I " am uncertain to which of them I ſhould re- " fer my Reader; ſo paſſionatly fond are Men " grown now of Lies and Calumnies! On this Book our Author did not think it worth his while to animadvert, but delegated that eaſy task to his younger Nephew JOHN PHILIPS, now alive, who ſoon wrote a ſufficient Anſwer to Biſhop BRAMHAL; for ſo this new Antagoniſt was ſuppos'd to be cal'd.

SALMASIUS made a huge figure at this time in the *Swediſh* Court, whither Queen CHRISTINA invited all the Men of Letters in *Europe*, ſo that her whole Train was compos'd in a manner of Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Philoſophers, Aſtrologers, and Critics: nor was her Adminiſtration unanſwerable to her Attendents; for beſides a total neglect of good Laws for the public Benefit, and her imprudent preferring of Strangers before the Natives of the Country, ſhe led a mere romantic Life, ſomtimes frolicſomly diſguiſing her ſelf in Mens Clothes, and then gravely diſputing with her Doctors, till at laſt ſhe was forc'd to a ſhameful Abdication of the Government; and the end of all her Learning was to turn Papiſt for a Penſion from the Pope, or to have an old meager Frier to pardon her Sins, and a brawny Cardinal for her Stallion. Now no ſooner had the Defence of the *Engliſh* Nation reach'd *Sweden*, and was read to the Queen at her own deſire, but SALMASIUS, who till then had

bin as it were her prime Miniſter, and who, when he firſt ſaw the Book, fooliſhly ſwore he would deſtroy MILTON and the whole Parlament, decreas'd ſo much in her eſteem, and dwindled to ſuch a degree in the opinion of all others, that he thought it not for his Intereſt to continue longer there, and was diſmiſt with extraordinary Coldneſs and Contemt. And not expecting to be better receiv'd in *Holland*, or any where elſe, he left an imperfect poſthumous Reply, and had recourſe to Death, the laſt refuge of the Miſerable, and the ſafeſt ſhelter to cover them from Infamy and Diſgrace. MILTON, on the other hand, was, on the firſt appearance of his Book, viſited or invited by all the Ambaſſadors at *London*, not excepting thoſe of Crown'd Heads, and particularly eſteem'd by ADRIAN PAW the Ambaſſador of the flouriſhing Republic of *Holland*. His Book indeed was burnt at *Paris*, not by order of the Parlament, but, at the inſtigation of the Prieſts, by the Lieutenant Civil, and likewiſe at *Tholouſe*, which ſerv'd only to procure it more Readers: for he was highly extol'd at the ſame time, or complemented by Letters from the moſt ingenious Perſons in *Germany* or *France*; and, as if the old *Grecian* Republics had reviv'd to decree the accuſtom'd Honors to the Aſſertors of Liberty, LEONARDUS PHILARAS, an *Athenian* born, and Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Parma* to the *French* King, wrote a fine Commendation of his Defence, and ſent him his Picture, together

gether with a perſonal Elogium. From theſe undeniable Matters of Fact (without deciding the merit of the cauſe on either ſide) it is plain that in the judgment of all *Europe*, MILTON got infinitly the better of SALMASIUS; for it could not be Partiality to a Free Government, but the reſiſtleſs Light of Truth, that obtain'd ſuch a Confeſſion from the Miniſters or Subjects of abſolute Princes.

NOW he had ſom leiſure again to follow his other Studies of a more delightful and peaceable nature than theſe Controverſies, and had alſo a Son born to him, who dy'd in his Infancy. In the year 52, he remov'd for his Health from his Lodgings at *Whitehal* to a Houſe opening into St. JAMES's Park, which ſhall be the Scene of all his Actions till the Reſtoration of the Royal Family. In this place his firſt Wife dying in Childbed, he, after a convenient ſpace, marry'd a ſecond, CATHARINE the Daughter of Captain WOODCOCK of *Hackny*, who within a year dy'd alſo in the ſame condition, and was about a month after follow'd by her Child, which was a Girl. His Sight was quite gon before this Match; for by reaſon of his continual Studies, and the Headach to which he was ſubject from his Youth, his Eys were decaying for a dozen years before: but we ſhall have an occaſion by and by to give a further account of this matter.

THE ſame year appear'd a bitter Invective from abroad againſt the Parlamentarians. The Title

Title of it was, * *The Cry of the King's Blood for Vengeance to Heaven againſt the Engliſh Parricides.* In this Book MILTON is particularly traduc'd, and accus'd to have bin expel'd out of the Univerſity of *Cambridg* for ſom Miſdemeanors, wherupon he retir'd into *Italy:* but the falſity of this Story is already prov'd. Several other frivolous things are laid to his charge, which he on the other hand denies; nor do his Adverſaries inſiſt upon them in their Anſwers: now there cannot be a clearer proof of his Innocence, than that being accus'd he publicly denies the fact, and his Enemies can't contradict him. But Envy and Malice often carry ſuch as have got the worſe to affirm moſt abſurd and ridiculous things: So SALMASIUS in his dying Reply fooliſhly reports that MILTON wrote not the Defence himſelf, but lent his Name to the Hand of a little *French* Schoolmaſter at *London.* But, as it always happens in ſuch caſes, he got nothing by this ſilly figment, but gave MILTON an opportunity of making his own Ability, and the Weakneſs of SALMASIUS, further known to the World. Thus ſom People think to gratify an offended Perſon with telling him a hundred ilnatur'd Stories of his Antagoniſt, to which his Paſſion makes him give credit without due Examination, and then becoms a Fool by aſſerting them. The true Author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis,*

* Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum, &c.

nis, was PETER DU MOULIN the younger, a Prebendary of *Canterbury*; but ALEXANDER MORUS a *French* Miniſter being the Publiſher of it, and having prefix'd a Dedication in the Printer's Name to CHARLES II. he was generally thought to be the Writer of the whole. This MORUS was the Son of a learned *Scot*, who was Principal of the Proteſtant College formerly at *Caſtres* in *Languedoc*. His inſufferable Haughtineſs, immoderat Inclination for Women, and Contemt of his Collegues, made him odious and uneaſy wherever he liv'd. He was haſty, ambitious, ſatyrical, and could never commend any thing but his own Works, or thoſe of his Admirers. He was cry'd up for a Seraphic Preacher; but, as BAILE judiciouſly ſays, his Talent muſt have conſiſted in the Gracefulneſs of his Pronunciation and Geſture, or in thoſe Flouriſhes and Puns wherof his Sermons are full: for 'tis certain that they retain not thoſe Charms now on Paper which they were ſaid to have formerly in the Pulpit. Againſt him therfore MILTON by public Command publiſhes a ſecond Defence for the People of *England*, which, beſides what the Title promiſes, contains a bloody Satyr upon MORUS, nor dos he deny himſelf to have bin the occaſion of SAMASIUS's Death. I ſhall not rake into the Aſhes of the Dead, but content my ſelf with inſerting here two pieces of MILTON's Wit. The firſt is a Diſtich made upon MORUS for get-

getting PONTIA the Maid of his Friend SALMASIUS with Child.

Galli ex Concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,
Quis bene moratam, morigeramque neget?

The other ſhall be an Epigram wherin MILTON laughs at MORUS for threatning him with a ſecond Edition of SALMASIUS's Defence of the King, augmented with Animadverſions on his Defence of the People.

Gaudete Scombri, & quicquid eſt piſcium Salo,
Qui frigida Hyeme incolitis algentes freta,
Veſtrum miſertus ille Salmaſius Eques
Bonus amicire nuditatem cogitat;
Chartæque largus apparat papyrinos
Vobis cucullos præferentes Claudii
Inſignia, Nomenque, & Decus Salmaſii:
Geſtetis ut per omne cetarium forum
Equitis clientes, ſcriniis mungentium
Cubito virorum, & capſulis gratiſſimos.

The Author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* having barbarouſly objected to MILTON his Blindneſs, and that he was meager and pale, he gives him an Anſwer in theſe words: "I "was never counted deform'd, as I know, by "any that ever ſaw me; but whether to be "counted handſom or not is none of my con-"cern. My Stature, I confeſs, is not extraor-"dinary tall, yet I am rather a middleſiz'd

"than

" than little Man. But what if little I were? " Have not many Perſons eminent in the Arts " of War and Peace bin ſo before me? tho I " ſee no reaſon why that ſhould be cal'd little " which in Courage is ſufficiently great. Nei- " ther am I ſo ſlender; for I was ſtrong and " capable enough in my Youth to handle my " Weapons, and to exerciſe daily Fencing: ſo " that wearing a Sword by my ſide, as became " a Gentleman, I thought my ſelf a match for " thoſe that were much ſtronger, and was not " afraid of receiving an affront from any body. " I have ſtill the ſame Soul and Vigor, but not " the ſame Eys; yet to all outward appear- " ance ſo ſound, ſo clear, and free from the " leaſt ſpot, as theirs who ſee furtheſt: and " herein only, in ſpite of my ſelf, I am a De- " ceiver. My Countenance, than which he " ſays there's nothing paler, is ſtill of a Color " ſo contrary to wan and bloodleſs, that tho " I am above forty, any body would think me " ten years younger, being neither contracted " in Body or Skin. If in any of theſe par- " ticulars I told a Ly, I ſhould be deſervedly " ridiculous to many thouſands of my own " Countrymen, and to ſeveral Strangers that " perſonally know me. As for his Blindneſs, he ſays that ſuch a condition is not miſerable, but not to be able to bear it; and then quotes the Examples of valiant, learned, wiſe, and holy Men of all times that have bin blind. But the loſs of his Eys being objected to him as an

effect

effect of divine Vengeance, after ſolemnly proteſting that he's not conſcious of any thing for which he ſhould deſerve that puniſhment more than other Men, he adds, " As for what I " wrote at any time (ſince the Royaliſts think " I now ſuffer on that account, and triumph " over me) I call God to witneſs that I did " not write any thing but what I then thought, " and am ſtill perſuaded to be right, and true, " and acceptable to God; not led by any ſort " of Ambition, Profit, or Vainglory; but " have don all from a ſenſe of Duty and Ho- " nor, or out of piety to my Country, and " for the Liberty of Church and State. On " the contrary, when that Task of anſwering " the King's Defence was injoin'd me by pub- " lic Authority, being both in an ill ſtate of " Health, and the Sight of one Ey almoſt " gon already, the Phyſicians openly predicting " the loſs of both if I undertook this Labor; " yet nothing terrify'd by their Premonition, I " did not long balance whether any Duty " ſhould be prefer'd to my Eys. And what he really thought of his Blindneſs, and how he bore it, may be further perceiv'd by this Sonnet to his Friend CYRIAC SKINNER, never printed with his other Poems.

CYRI-

CYRIAC, this three years day, theſe Eys, tho clear
To outward view of blemiſh or of ſpot,
Bereft of ſight, their ſeeing have forgot.
Nor to their idle Orbs dos Day appear,
Or Sun, or Moon, or Star, throout the year;
Or Man, or Woman. Yet I argue not
Againſt Heaven's hand, or will, nor bate one jot
Of Heart or Hope; but ſtill bear up, and ſteer
Right onward. What ſupports me, doſt thou ask?
The Conſcience, Friend, t'have loſt them over-ply'd
In Liberty's Defence, my noble Task,
Wherof all *Europe* rings from ſide to ſide.
This Thought might lead me thro this World's vain Mask,
Content, tho blind, had I no other Guide.

MORUS publiſh'd his *Fides publica* in anſwer to MILTON's ſecond Defence, to which the latter oppos'd a * *Defence of himſelf*; and by Original Letters, or the like Authentic Pieces, made good all his Aſſertions againſt his Adverſary: wherupon MORUS vanquiſh'd and baffled, quitted the Field. Our Author was now *Latin* Secretary to the Protector OLIVER CROMWEL, who, he confidently hop'd, would imploy his Truſt and Power to extinguiſh the numerous Factions of the State, and to ſettle ſuch a perfect Form of a Free Govern-

* Defenſio pro ſe.

ment,

ment, wherin no ſingle Perſon ſhould injoy any Power above or beſide the Laws: but he particularly expected his eſtabliſhing an impartial Liberty of Conſcience, to which he incourages him by theſe lines, never printed among his Poems.

CROMWEL, our chief of Men, that thro a Croud
Not of War only, but Diſtractions rude,
(Guided by Faith and matchleſs Fortitude)
To Peace and Truth thy glorious way haſt plow'd,
And fought God's Battles, and his Work purſu'd,
While *Darwent* Streams, with Blood of *Scots* imbru'd,
And *Dunbar* Field reſound thy Praiſes loud,
And *Worc'ſters* Laureat Wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer ſtill; Peace has her Victories,
No leſs than thoſe of War. New Foes ariſe
Threatning to bind our Souls in ſecular Chains:
Help us to ſave free Conſcience from the Paw
Of hireling Wolves, whoſe Goſpel is their Maw.

HE had leiſure enough now from his Imployment in the State (no Adverſary daring to appear any more) to purſue his *Hiſtory of Britain*, and his new *Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ*: but what took up moſt of his time was the Epic Poem he had ſo long deſign'd, and which is ſince printed under the Title of *Paradiſe Loſt*, wherof in due order. But the next Book he pub-

publiſh'd was *a Treatiſe*, dedicated to the Parlament, *of Civil Power in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, ſhewing that it is not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion, whether ſpeculative or practical; or in any thing except Immorality, or what evidently ſubverts the Foundation of civil Society: for which reaſon he juſtly excludes Popery from this Toleration, for being not ſo much a Religion, as a politic Faction, wherof the Members, wherſoever they are, own the Pope for their Superior, to the prejudice of the Allegiance due to their natural Soverains. Beſides, that they never tolerat others where they have the maſtery; and that their Doctrin of Diſpenſations, or keeping no Faith with ſuch as they count Heretics, renders 'em worſe than Atheiſts, and the declar'd Enemies of all Mankind beſides thoſe of their own Communion.

AFTER this he addreſt to the Parlament *Conſiderations touching the likelieſt means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*; not that he was againſt all ſort of Maintenance for the public Miniſtry of Religion, which he acknowleges due by the Light of Reaſon, as well as the Examples of all Ages; but he proves that Tithes were inconvenient, and not of Divine Right, which was then ſtrongly aſſerted even by the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. He obſerves, that two things do mainly corrupt Religion, and hinder the advancement of Truth, Force on the one ſide reſtraining the Profeſſors,

and Hire on the other ſide corrupting the Teachers of it. " The latter of theſe, ſays " he, is by much the more dangerous: for un- " der Force, tho no thanks to the Forcers, true " Religion oft times beſt thrives and flouriſhes; " but the Corruption of Teachers, moſt com- " monly the effect of Hire, is the very bane of " Truth in them who are ſo corrupted. There is much curious Hiſtory in this Book concerning Church Revenues, to which I refer thoſe who have not read Father PAUL of Beneficiary Matters, nor Father SIMON who wrote after him. Speaking of the Miniſters, " They pretend, " ſays he, that their Education, either at " School or the Univerſity, has bin very charge- " able, and therfore ought to be repair'd after- " wards by a fruitful Maintenance: wheras it " is well known that the better half of them " (and oft times poor and pitiful Boys, of no " merit or promiſing hopes that might intitle " them to the public Proviſion, but their Po- " verty and the unjuſt favor of Friends) have " had the moſt of their Breeding, both at " School and Univerſity, by Scholarſhips, Ex- " hibitions, and Fellowſhips, at the public " Coſt, which might ingage them the rather " to give freely as they freely receiv'd. Or if " they have miſt of theſe Helps at the latter " place, they have after two or three years left " the courſe of their Studies there (if they " ever well began them) and undertaken, tho " furniſh'd with little elſe but Ignorance, Bold- " neſs,

" neſs, and Ambition, if with no worſe Vices,
" a Chaplainſhip in ſom Gentleman's Houſe,
" to the frequent imbaſing of his Sons with illi-
" terat and narrow Principles. Or if they have
" liv'd there upon their own, who knows not
" that ſeven years charge of living there, to
" them who fly not from the Government of
" their Parents to the Licenſe of a Univerſity,
" but com ſeriouſly to ſtudy, is no more than
" may be well defray'd and reimburſt by one
" year's Revenue of an ordinary good Bene-
" fice? If they had then means of Breeding
" from their Parents, 'tis likely they have more
" now; and if they have, it muſt needs be
" mechanic and diſingenuous in them to bring
" a Bill of Charges for the learning thoſe libe-
" ral Arts and Sciences which they have learnt
" (if they have indeed learnt them, as they
" ſeldom have) to their own benefit and ac-
" compliſhment. Towards the Concluſion he has theſe words: " I have thus at large exa-
" min'd the uſual Pretences of Hirelings, co-
" lor'd over moſt commonly with the Cauſe of
" Learning and Univerſities; as if with Di-
" vines Learning ſtood and fell, wherin for the
" moſt part their Pittance is ſo ſmall; and, to
" ſpeak freely, it were much better there were
" not one Divine in the Univerſity, nor no
" School Divinity known, the idle Sophiſtry of
" Monks, the Canker of Religion; and that
" they who intended to be Miniſters, were
" train'd up in the Church only by the Scrip-

" ture, and in the Original Languages therof at
" School, without ſetching the compaſs of
" other Arts and Sciences more than what they
" can well learn at ſecondary leiſure, and at
" home. Neither ſpeak I this in contemt of
" Learning, or the Miniſtry, but hating the
" common Cheats of both; hating that they
" who have preach'd out Biſhops, Prelats, and
" Canoniſts, ſhould, in what ſerves their own
" ends, retain their falſe Opinions, their pha-
" riſaical Leven, their Avarice, and cloſely
" their Ambition, their Pluralities, their Non-
" reſidences, their odious Fees, and uſe their
" Legal and Popiſh Arguments for Tithes:
" That *Independents* ſhould take that name,
" and ſeek to be *Dependents* on the Magiſtrat
" for their Maintenance; which two things,
" *Independence* and *Statehire* in Religion, can
" never conſiſt long or certainly together. For
" Magiſtrats at one time or other, not like
" theſe at preſent our Patrons of Chriſtian Li-
" berty, will pay none but ſuch whom by their
" Committees of Examination they find con-
" formable to their Intereſt and Opinions: And
" Hirelings will ſoon frame themſelves to that
" Intereſt and thoſe Opinions which they ſee
" beſt pleaſing to their Paymaſters; and, to
" ſeem right themſelves, will force others as to
" the Truth. After proving the Chriſtian Re-
ligion not to be more difficult than any other
Art or Science, nay, and that the knowlege of
it may be much ſooner attain'd; " We may
" con-

" conclude, ſays he, that if Men be not all " their lifetime under a Teacher to learn Logic, " Natural Philoſophy, Ethics, or Mathema- " tics, which are more difficult; that certain- " ly it is not neceſſary to the attainment of " Chriſtian Knowlege, that Men ſhould ſit all " their life long at the feet of a pulpited Di- " vine, while he, a Lollard indeed over his El- " bow Cuſhion, in almoſt the ſeventh part of " forty or fifty years, teaches them ſcarce half " the Principles of Religion: And his Sheep " oft times ſit all the while to as little purpoſe " of benefiting, as the Sheep in their Pews at " *Smithfield*, and for the moſt part are by ſom " Simony or other bought and ſold like them; " or, if this Compariſon be too low, like thoſe " Women, mention'd by St. PAUL, ever " learning and never attaining; yet not ſo " much thro their own fault, as thro the un- " skilful and immethodical Teaching of their " Paſtor, preaching here and there at random " out of this or that Text, as his eaſe or fancy, " and oft times as his health guides him.

CROMWEL being dead, RICHARD depos'd, and the Army having reſtor'd the old famous Parlament, but almoſt as ſoon diſſolv'd it, MILTON wrote a Letter to ſom Stateſman, with whom he had a ſerious Diſcourſe about the lamentable Confuſions of that time. It is in a very pathetic Stile, and contains a true Repreſentation of what the Soldiers had don: to whom he tells, that it is ſcarce to be exam-

pled, even among Barbarians, that an Army duly paid ſhould, for no cauſe at all, ſubdue the Supreme Power that ſet them up. "This, "ſays he, other Nations will judg to the ſad "diſhonor of that Army, lately renown'd for "the civileſt and beſt order'd in the Univerſe, "and by us here at home for the moſt conſci-"entious. Now, if an Army deſerving this Character was capable of inſlaving their Country, what may be expected from any other, as moſt are, of a worſe diſpoſition? In this Letter he delivers the Model of a Commonwealth; not ſuch as he thought the beſt, but what might be readieſt ſettled at that time to prevent the reſtitution of Kingſhip and Domeſtic Diſorders, till a more favorable Seaſon, or better Diſpoſitions for erecting a perfect Democracy. This and another ſmall Piece to the ſame purpoſe, addreſt I ſuppoſe to MONK, were communicated to me by a worthy Friend, who a little after the Author's Death, had them from his Nephew; and I imparted them to the Publiſhers of the new Edition of his Works in Folio.

HIS laſt Piece before the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, except the *brief Notes* he publiſht on Dr. GRIFFITH'S Sermon, was intitul'd, *The ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence therof compar'd with the Inconveniences and Dangers of readmitting Kingſhip in this Nation.* This Book appear'd in Sixty, when he perceiv'd that noxi-

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ous humor of returning to Bondage, as he calls it, to prevail, which was inſtil'd by ſom Deceivers, and nouriſht by the bad Principles or falſe Apprehenſions of the People. " If their " abſolute Determination be to enthral us, ſays " he; before ſo long a *Lent* of Servitude, they " may permit us a little Shroving time firſt, " wherin to ſpeak freely and take our leaves of " Liberty. He indeavors to ſet before the Eys of the Nation the folly and unreaſonableneſs of all they had ſo valiantly don for ſeveral years, if they at laſt readmitted Kingſhip; that they would be the ſhame of all free Countrys, and the Laughingſtock of all Monarchies. " Where " is this goodly Tower of a Commonwealth, " will Foreners ſay, which the *Engliſh* boaſted " they would build to overſhadow Kings, " and be another *Rome* in the Weſt? The " Foundation indeed they laid gallantly, but " fell into a worſe Confuſion, not of Tongues " but of Factions, than thoſe at the Tower of " *Babel*, and have left no Memorial of their " Work behind them remaining, but in the " common laughter of *Europe*. Which muſt " needs redound the more to our ſhame, if we " but look on our Neighbors the *United Pro-* " *vinces*, to us inferior in all outward Advan- " tages; who notwithſtanding, in the midſt " of greater Difficulties, couragiouſly, wiſe- " ly, conſtantly, went thro with the ſame " Work, and are ſettled in all the happy in- " joyments of a potent and flouriſhing Repub-

" lic to this day. Beſides this, if we return
" to Kingſhip, and ſoon repent (as undoubted-
" ly we ſhall when we find the old Incroach-
" ments coming by little and little upon our
" Conſciences, which muſt neceſſarily pro-
" cede from King and Biſhop united inſepa-
" rably in one Intereſt) we may be forc'd per-
" haps to fight over again all that we have
" fought.——A Free Commonwealth was not
" only held by wiſeſt Men in all Ages, the
" nobleſt, the manlieſt, the equalleſt, the juſt-
" eſt Government, the moſt agreable to due
" Liberty, and proportion'd Equality, both
" Human, Civil, and Chriſtian, moſt cheriſh-
" ing to Virtue and true Religion, but alſo
" plainly commended, or rather injoin'd by
" our Savior himſelf to all Chriſtians, not
" without a remarkable diſallowance, and the
" brand of Gentiliſm upon Kingſhip. God
" in much diſpleaſure gave a King to the *Iſra-*
" *elites*, and imputed it a Sin to them that they
" fought one: but CHRIST apparently forbids
" his Diſciples to admit of any ſuch Heathen-
" iſh Government. *The Kings of the* Gentils,
" ſays he, *exerciſe Lordſhip over them, and they*
" *that exerciſe Authority upon them are cal'd Be-*
" *nefactors: But you ſhall not do ſo, but he*
" *that is greateſt among you, let him be as the*
" *younger*; *and he that is chief, as he that ſerves.*
" The occaſion of theſe words was the am-
" bitious deſire of ZEBEDEES two Sons to
" be exalted above their Brethren in the King-
" dom,

" dom, which they thought was to be e'er long
" upon Earth. That he ſpeaks of Civil Go-
" vernment is manifeſt by the former part of
" the Compariſon, which infers the other part
" to be always of the ſame kind. And what
" Government coms nearer to this Precept of
" CHRIST, than a Free Commonwealth?
" Wherin they who are greateſt are perpetual
" Servants and Drudges to the Public at their
" own coſt and charges, neglecting their own
" Affairs, yet are not elevated above their Bre-
" thren, live ſoberly in their Families, walk
" the Streets as other Men, may be ſpoken to
" freely, familiarly, without Adoration. Wher-
" as a King muſt be ador'd like a Demigod,
" with a diſſolute and haughty Court about
" him, of vaſt Expence and Luxury, Masks
" and Revels, to the debauching of our prime
" Gentry both Male and Female, not in their
" Paſtimes only, but in earneſt by the looſe
" Imployments of Court Service, which will
" be then thought honorable. There will be
" a Queen of no leſs charge; in moſt likeli-
" hood outlandiſh and a Papiſt, beſides a
" Queenmother ſuch already, together with
" both their Courts and numerous Train.
" Then a Royal Iſſue, and e'er long ſeverally
" their ſumtuous Courts, to the multiplying
" of a ſervil Crew, not of Servants only, but
" of Nobility and Gentry bred up then, not
" to the hopes of Public, but of Court Offices;
" to be Stewards, Chamberlains, Uſhers,
" Grooms,

" Grooms, even of the Cloſeſtool: and the " lower their Minds are debas'd with Court o- " pinions contrary to all Virtue and Reforma- " tion, the haughtier will be their Pride and " Profuſeneſs. As to the burden of Expence, " we ſhall ſoon know it to our coſt; for any " good to us, deſerving to be term'd no better " than the vaſt and laviſh price of our Sub- " jection and their Debauchery, which we " are now ſo greedily cheapening, and would " ſo fain be paying moſt inconſideratly to a " ſingle Perſon, who, for any thing wherin " the Public really needs him, will have little " elſe to do but to beſtow the eating and drink- " ing of exceſſive Dainties, to ſet a pompous " face upon the ſuperficial actings of the State, " to pageant himſelf up and down in progreſs " among the perpetual Bowings and Cringings " of an abject People, on either ſide deifying " and adoring him for nothing don that can " deſerve it. In this Book he delivers the Mo- del of a Commonwealth, well ſuted perhaps to the Circumſtances of that time, but infe- rior in all reſpects to HARRINGTON's *O- ceana*, which for the Practicableneſs, Equality, and Completeneſs of it, is the moſt perfect form of ſuch a Government that ever was de- lineated by any antient or modern Pen.

AND now, the King being ready to land, our Author was diſcharg'd from his Office of *Latin* Secretary, and oblig'd for the Safety of his Perſon to leave his Houſe near St. JAMES's Park,

Park, where for eight years before he was viſited by all Foreners of Note, by ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and by the Ingenious of every Perſuaſion or Party. ANDREW MARVEL, who by his Parts and Probity made himſelf ſo much known ſince that time in *England*, us'd to frequent him the oftenеſt of any body; and whether it was he or MILTON (for both are nam'd for it) that made the Verſes ſent with CROMWEL's Picture to the Queen of *Sweden*, I am uncertain: but whoever was the Author, they deſerve a room in this place.

Cromwel ſpeaks:

Bellipotens virgo, ſeptem Regina Trionum
Chriſtina, Arctoi lucida ſtella poli;
Cernis quas merui dura ſub Caſſide rugas,
Vtque ſenex armis impiger ora tero:
Invia fatorum dum per veſtigia nitor,
Exequor & populi fortia juſſa manu.
Aſt tibi ſubmittit frontem reverentior umbra,
Nec ſunt hi vultus regibus uſque truces.

Engliſh'd.

Bright martial Maid, Queen of the frozen Zone,
The Northern Pole ſupports thy ſhining Throne;

Behold

Behold what Furrows Age and Steel can plow,
The Helmet's weight oppreſt this wrinkled Brow.
Thro Fate's untrodden Paths I move, my Hands
Still act my freeborn Peoples bold Commands:
Yet this ſtern ſhade to you ſubmits his Frowns,
Nor are theſe Looks always ſevere to Crowns.

FROM the year 52 to that of 60 he correſponded much with learned Foreners, as appears by his Letters to MILLIUS, OLDENBURG, HEIMBACHIUS, DE BRASS, LEO AB AIZEMA, and EMERIC BIGOT. His Admirer LEONARDUS PHILARAS coming upon ſom occaſions to *London*, went to ſee MILTON, who, tho he could not ſee him again, was extremely pleas'd with his Converſation. He afterwards acquainted MILTON by a Letter, that there was a Phyſician who perform'd Wonders on blind People at *Paris*, and requeſts him to ſend in writing the ſtate and progreſs of his Diſtemper, which to gratify his Friend our Author perform'd, yet without expreſſing any hopes of a cure. CYRIAC SKINNER was one of his conſtant Viſitors, which Honor he not ſeldom receiv'd alſo from the pious and virtuous Lady RANELAGH, whoſe Son, the preſent Earl of *Ranelagh*, he inſtructed for ſom time, and ſent him ſeveral Letters of Advice during his Travels abroad; but in one directed to him at the Univerſity,

he

he uſes theſe words: " As for what you write " to me, that you are ſo much pleas'd with " *Oxford*, you cannot perſuade me the more " that you receiv'd any Improvement there, " or art becom a bit the wiſer, unleſs you ſhew " me ſom other Reaſons for it. Thoſe Victo- " ries of Princes which you extol, and ſuch " other things, wherin Force has the greateſt " ſhare, I would not have you too much ad- " mire, eſpecially now being a Hearer of Phi- " loſophers: where's the wonder if in the " Country of Rams there grow ſtrong Horns, " which are able to batter Towns and Cities " with ſuch violence? But learn thou from " thy Childhood to diſcern and judg of great " Examples, not from Violence and Force, but " by Juſtice and Temperance.

BUT, as I ſaid before, he was now oblig'd to abſcond till the Act of Oblivion was publiſh'd, wherin he and JOHN GOODWIN (the great Spreader of *Arminianiſm*, and who in writing alſo juſtify'd the Death of CHARLES the Firſt) were only excepted from bearing any Office in the Nation. Our Author had many good Friends to intercede for him both in the Privy Council and in the Houſe of Commons; nor was CHARLES the Second ſuch an Enemy to the Muſes as to require his Deſtruction, tho ſom are of opinion that he was more oblig'd to that Prince's Forgetfulneſs than to his Clemency.

AS

AS ſoon as his Pardon was paſt the Seals, he appear'd again, and marry'd his third Wife ELIZABETH, the Daughter of Mr. MINSHAL of *Cheſhire*, recommended to him by his Friend Dr. PAGET. He had no Children by this laſt Wife, nor any living by his ſecond; but of his three Daughters by the firſt, he made two very ſerviceable to himſelf, and, in ſo doing, to the reſt of the World. For tho many ſent their Sons to read for him, and ſeveral grown Perſons were ambitious of obliging him that way for their own Improvement; yet he taught theſe young Women to read and pronounce with great exactneſs the *Engliſh*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Languages. So that whatever Book he had occaſion to uſe, one of 'em was forc'd to read it to him, tho neither of 'em underſtood a word of thoſe Writings, except *Engliſh* their Mother Tongue. This Drudgery could not but render them in time very uneaſy; and accordingly when he underſtood their Murmurs, he diſpens'd with their Duty in this caſe, and ſent them out to learn other things more becoming their Sex and Condition.

WHAT imploy'd a good part of his Thoughts for many years before, and was at firſt only deſign'd to be a Tragedy, I mean his incomparable Epic Poem, intitul'd *Paradiſe Loſt*, he now had ſufficient leiſure to proſecute and finiſh. It is a great wonder that this piece

ſhould

ſhould ever be brought to perfection, conſidering the many Interruptions that obſtructed it. His Youth was ſpent in Study, Travelling, and religious Controverſy; his Manhood was imploy'd in Affairs of State, or thoſe of his Family; and in his latter years, to ſpeak nothing of a decaying Fancy, nor of his perſonal Troubles, he was by reaſon of his Blindneſs oblig'd to write by whatſoever hand came next, ten, or twenty, or thirty Verſes at a time; and conſequently muſt truſt the judgment of others at leaſt for the Pointing and Orthography. But another difficulty that ſtopt its paſſage to the World was very ſingular: for his Vein never happily flow'd but from the Autumnal to the Vernal Equinox, as his Nephew EDWARD PHILIPS affirms, who ſays he was told this particular by MILTON himſelf; and yet I fancy he might be miſtaken as to the time, becauſe our Author in his *Latin* Elegy on the approach of the Spring ſeems to ſay juſt the contrary, as if he could not make any Verſes to his ſatisfaction till the Spring begun, according to theſe lines.

Fallor? An & nobis redeunt in carmina vires,
Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adeſt?
Munere veris adeſt, iterumque vigeſcit ab illo,
(Quis putet) atque aliquod jam ſibi poſcit opus.

A more judicious Friend of his informs me, that he could never compoſe well but in the Spring and Autumn: And let it be which way you will, it follows that this Piece was compos'd in half the time he was thought to be about it. As to the choice of his Subject, or the Particulars of his Story, I ſhall ſay nothing in defence of them againſt thoſe People who brand 'em with Hereſy and Impiety: for to incur the Diſpleaſure of certain ignorant and ſupercilious Critics, argues free Thinking, accurat Writing, and a generous Profeſſion of Truth. I'm ſure if HESIOD, or ſuch other fabulous Authors in the rude ages of the World, had given ſo intelligible, coherent, and delightful an account of the Creation of the Univerſe and the Origin of Mankind, their Syſtem had paſt for Divine Inſpiration; and the Unbelievers of it would appear to be ſo few, that any of 'em might well be ſhewn for a Monſter rather than be thought worthy of Puniſhment or Confutation. As to the regularity of the Poem, I never knew it queſtion'd by any but ſuch as would build themſelves a Reputation on the flaws and miſtakes they diſcover in other Mens Labors, without producing any thing better or equal of their own. But the unparallel'd Sublimity and Force of the Expreſſion, with the delicacy of his Thoughts, and the copiouſneſs of his Invention, are unanimouſly own'd by all ranks of Writers: He has inconteſtably exceded the fecundity of

Ho-

HOMER, whoſe two Poems he could almoſt repeat without book: nor did he com much ſhort of the correctneſs of VIRGIL; which is affirm'd by one whoſe judgment in this Province will be acknowleg'd by every man that is not willing to expoſe the defect of his own. I mean the famous JOHN DRYDEN, the beſt *Engliſh* Poet alive, the preſent Glory of our Stage, and the Model of the ſame to future Ages; for he (having abſolutely maſter'd theſe three Originals by framing a Tragedy out of *Paradiſe Loſt*, making the Charms of VIRGIL appear in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and ſtudying HOMER for the ſame purpoſe) pronounces his Judgment in favor of MILTON by this incomparable and envy'd Epigram.

Three Poets in three diſtant Ages born,
Greece, *Italy*, and *England* did adorn:
The firſt in Loftineſs of Thought ſurpaſt;
The next in Majeſty; in both the laſt.
The Force of Nature could no further go:
To make a Third, ſhe join'd the other Two.

The firſt Edition of *Paradiſe Loſt* was publiſh'd in the year 1666, in ten Books; but afterwards, amended and inlarg'd by himſelf, it was diſpos'd according to his Direction into twelve Books, as it is read at preſent. I muſt not forget that we had

like to be eternally depriv'd of this Treaſure by the Ignorance or Malice of the Licenſer; who, among other frivolous Exceptions, would needs ſuppreſs the whole Poem for imaginary Treaſon in the following lines.

——As, when the Sun new riſen
Looks thro the Horizontal miſty Air
Shorn of his Beams, or from behind the Moon
In dim Eclipſe diſaſtrous Twilight ſheds
On half the Nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes Monarchs.

MILTON, taking an occaſion from *Satan's* aſcending out of infernal Darkneſs towards the Light of this World then newly created, perpetuats the Hiſtory of his own Blindneſs in this admirable Paſſage.

Hail, holy Light; Ofspring of Heaven Firſt-born,
Or of th' eternal coeternal Beam,
May I expreſs thee unblam'd? Since God is Light,
And never but in unapproached Light
Dwelt from Eternity, dwelt then in thee
Bright Effluence of bright Eſſence increate.

Or

Or hearſt thou rather pure ethereal Stream,
Whoſe Fountain who ſhall tell? Before the Sun,
Before the Heavens thou wert; and at the Voice
Of God, as with a Mantle, diſt inveſt
The riſing World of Waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formleſs Infinite.
Thee I reviſit now with bolder Wing,
Eſcap'd the *Stygian* Pool, tho long detain'd
In that obſcure Sojourn; while in my flight
(Thro utter and thro middle Darkneſs born)
I ſung of *Chaos* and eternal Night,
Taught by the heavenly Muſe to venture down
The dark Deſcent, and up to reaſcend
Tho hard and rare. Thee I reviſit ſafe,
And feel thy ſovrain vital Lamp; but thou
Reviſit'ſt not theſe Eys that roll in vain
To find thy piercing Ray, and find no dawn:
So thick a Drop ſerene has quench'd their Orbs
Or dim Suffuſion veil'd! Yet not the more
Ceaſe I to wander where the Muſes haunt
Clear Spring, or ſhady Grove, or ſunny Hill,

Smit with the Love of ſacred Song; but chief,
Thee, *Sion*, and thy flowry Brooks beneath
That waſh thy hallow'd Feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I viſit. Nor ſomtimes forget
Thoſe other two equal'd with me in Fate
(So were I equal'd with them in Renown)
Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Mæonides*,
And *Tyreſias* and *Phineus*, Prophets old.
Then feed on Thoughts that voluntary move
Harmonious Numbers; as the wakeful Bird
Sings darkling, and, in ſhadyeſt Coverts hid,
Tunes her nocturnal Note. Thus with the Year
Seaſons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the ſweet approach of Ev'n, or Morn,
Or ſight of vernal Bloom, or Summers Roſe,
Or Flocks, or Herds, or human Face divine:
But Cloud inſtead, and everduring Dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful ways of Men
Cut off; and, for the Book of Knowlege fair,
Preſented with an univerſal Blank
Of Nature's Works to me expung'd and raz'd,

And

And Wiſdom at one entrance quite ſhut out.
So much the rather, thou Celeſtial Light,
Shine inward, and the Mind thro all her Powers
Irradiat: there plant Eys, all Miſt from thence
Purge and diſperſe, that I may ſee and tell
Of things inviſible to mortal ſight.

AN Epic Poem is not a bare Hiſtory delightfully related in harmonious Numbers, and artfully diſpos'd; but it always contains, beſides a general Repreſentation of Paſſions and Affections, Virtues and Vices, ſom peculiar Allegory or Moral. HOMER therfore, according to DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSÆUS, expreſſes ſtrength of Body in his *Iliad* by the Wars of the *Greecs* and *Trojans*, but particularly by the valiant Deeds of ACHILLES; and in his *Odyſſes* he deſcribes Generoſity of Mind by the Adventures and Wandrings of ULYSSES in his return from *Troy*. Thus TORQUATO TASSO has prefixt an Explication to his *Gieruſalemme Liberata:* Nor was MILTON behind any body in the choice or dignity of his Inſtruction; for to diſplay the different Effects of Liberty and Tyranny, is the chief deſign of his *Paradiſe Loſt*. This in the Concluſion of his ſecond Book of *Reformati-*

on, publiſh'd in 41, he tells us was his Intention at that time; and he afterwards made this Promiſe good. His own words, being part of a Prayer to God, deſerve ſerious Conſideration. " Then, ſays he, amidſt " the Hymns and Hallelujahs of Saints, " ſom one may perhaps be heard offring at " high ſtrains in new and lofty meaſures, " to ſing and celebrat thy divine Mercies, " and marvellous Judgments in this Land " throout all Ages, wherby this great and " warlike Nation (inſtructed and inur'd " to the fervent and continual practice of " Truth and Righteouſneſs, and caſting far " from it the Rags of its old Vices) may " preſs on hard to that high and happy E- " mulation to be found the ſobereſt, wiſeſt, " and moſt Chriſtian People at that day, " when Thou, the eternal and ſhortly ex- " pected King, ſhalt open the Clouds to " judg the ſeveral Kingdoms of the World; " and, diſtributing national Honors and " Rewards to religious and juſt *Common-* " *wealths*, ſhalt put an end to all earthly " *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy univerſal and " mild Monarchy thro Heaven and Earth. " Where they undoubtedly, that by their " Labors, Counſels, and Prayers, have bin " earneſt for the common Good of Religion " and their Country, ſhall receive (above " the inferior Orders of the Bleſſed) the

" regal

" regal addition of Principalities, Legions, " and Thrones into their glorious Titles; " and in ſupereminence of beatific Viſion, " progreſſing the dateleſs and irrevoluble " Circle of Eternity, ſhall clap inſeparable " hands with Joy and Bliſs in overmeaſure " for ever. But they on the contrary, that " by the impairing and diminution of the " true Faith, by the Diſtreſſes and Servi- " tude of their Country, aſpire to high " Dignity, Rule, and Promotion here, af- " ter a ſhameful end in this Life (which " God grant them) ſhall be thrown down " eternally into the darkeſt and deepeſt " Gulf of Hell: where, under the deſpite- " ful Control, the Trample, and Spurn of " all the other Damn'd, that in the Anguiſh " of their Torture ſhall have no other eaſe " than to exerciſe a raving and beſtial Ty- " ranny over them as their Slaves and Ne- " gros, they ſhall remain in that plight for " ever, the baſeſt, the lowermoſt, the moſt " dejected, moſt underfoot, and down- " trodden Vaſſals of Perdition. I ſhall end my account of this Divine Poem with a Copy of *Latin* Verſes made upon it by *Samuel Barrow*, a Doctor of Phyſic.

Qui Legis amiſſam Paradiſum, grandia magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid niſi cuncta Legis?
Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,
Et fata, & fines, continet iſte Liber.
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet.
Terræque tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum,
Sulphureumque Erebi flammivomumque ſpecus.
Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & tartara cæca,
Quæque colunt ſummi lucida regna poli.
Et quodcunque ullis concluſum eſt finibus uſquam,
Et ſine fine Chaos, & ſine fine Deus:
Et ſine fine magis (ſiquid magis eſt ſine fine)
In Chriſto erga homines conciliatus amor.
Hæc qui ſperaret, quis crederet eſſe futurum?
Et tamen hæc hodie Terra Britanna legit.
O quantos in bella dulces! quæ protulit arma!
Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba!
Cœleſtes acies! atque in certamine cœlum!
Et quæ cœleſtes pugna deceret agros!

Quan-

Quantus in ætheriis tollit ſe Lucifer armis!
Atque ipſo graditur vix Michaele minor!
Quantis ac quam funeſtis concurritur iris!
Dum ferus hic ſtellas protegit, ille rapit!
Dum vulſos montes, ceu tela reciproca, torquent;
Et non mortali deſuper igne pluunt:
Stat dubius cui ſe parti concedat Olympus,
Et metuit pugnæ non ſupereſſe ſuæ.
At ſimul in cœlis Meſſiæ inſignia fulgent,
Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo,
Horrendumque rotæ ſtrident, & ſævarotarum
Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco
Admiſtis flammis inſonuere polo:
Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,
Et caſſis dextris irrita tela cadunt.
Ad pœnas fugiunt, &, ceu foret Orcus Aſylum,
Infernis certant condere ſe tenebris.
Cedite Romani ſcriptores, Cedite Graii,
Et quot recens fama, vel celebravit anus.
Hæc quicunque leget tantum cecinisſe putabit
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium Culices.

IN

IN the year 1670 he publiſh'd his *Paradiſe Regain'd*, conſiſting of four Books; but generally eſteem'd much inferior to *Paradiſe Loſt*, which he could not endure to hear, being quite of another mind: yet this occaſion'd ſom body to ſay wittily enough that MILTON might be ſeen in *Paradiſe Loſt*, but not in *Paradiſe Regain'd*. With this laſt Book he publiſht his *Samſon Agoniſtes*, an admirable Tragedy, not a ridiculous mixture of Gravity and Farce according to moſt of the Modern, but after the Example of the yet unequal'd Antients, as they are juſtly cal'd, ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES.

IN the year 70 alſo came abroad his *Hiſtory* of *Britain*, wherof we had occaſion to ſpeak before. He deduc'd it only to the *Norman* Conqueſt, and yet we have it not as it came out of his hands; for the Licenſers, thoſe ſworn Officers to deſtroy Learning, Liberty, and good Senſe, expung'd ſeveral paſſages of it wherin he expos'd the Superſtition, Pride, and Cunning of the Popiſh Monks in the *Saxon* Times, but apply'd by the ſagacious Licenſers to CHARLES the Second's Biſhops. This puts me in mind of a *Reply* to a certain Perſon by Sir ROBERT HOWARD lately deceaſt, a Gentleman of great Generoſity,

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a Patron of Letters, and a hearty Friend to the Liberty of his Country. Being told that he was charg'd in a Book with whipping the Proteſtant Clergy on the back of the Heathen and Popiſh Prieſts, he preſently ask'd what they had to do there? He was a great admirer of MILTON to his dying day; and, being his particular acquaintance, would tell many pleaſant Stories of him, as that he himſelf having demanded of him once what made him ſide with the *Republicans?* MILTON anſwer'd, among other Reaſons, becauſe theirs was the moſt frugal Government; for that the Trappings of a Monarchy might ſet up an ordinary Commonwealth. But not to digreſs too far, our Author beſtow'd a Copy of the unlicens'd Papers of his Hiſtory on the Earl of *Angleſey*, who, as well as ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry, was his conſtant Viſitor. Nor was he leſs frequented by Foreners to the laſt, than in the time of his flouriſhing condition before the Reſtoration. It is an irreparable loſs to this moſt potent Nation, that MILTON did not find leiſure to bring down his Hiſtory to his own times: For (as the nobleſt Ornament of all Politeneſs and Literature Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE juſtly complains) " tho the *Engliſh* are ſo renown'd " by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits " abroad, ſo applauded and envy'd for their " wiſe

" wiſe and happy Inſtitutions at home, ſo " flouriſhing in Arts and Learning, and ſo " adorn'd by excellent Writers in other " Kinds, yet none of 'em has produc'd one " good or approv'd general Hiſtory of *Eng-* " *land.* But our Hiſtories (continues he) " have bin written by ſuch mean and vul- " gar Authors, ſo tedious in their Relations, " or rather Collections; ſo injudicious in the " choice of what was fit to be told or to be " let alone; with ſo little order, and in ſo " wretched a Stile; that as it is a ſhame to " be ignorant in the Affairs of our own " Country, ſo 'tis hardly worth the time or " pains to be inform'd, ſince for that end a " Man muſt read over a Library, rather " than a Book: and after all, muſt be con- " tent to forget more than he remembers. This Charge is too true, and yet it's very ſtrange it ſhould be ſo, ſeeing no Country in the World has afforded a greater diver- ſity or a better choice of Actions, nor is furniſht with more ample or authentic Mate- rials for framing a juſt and full body of Hi- ſtory. Would Sir WILLIAM be pleas'd to continue ſo uſeful a Work, according to the inimitable Specimen he has publiſht for incouraging ſom other to purſue this Attemt, *England* might boldly compare with *Rome*, and himſelf be reckon'd equal with LIVY. But tho he gos no further than the *Norman* Con-

Conqueſt, which is the period of MILTON, yet we expect a larger Account from JAMES TYRREL, the worthy Grandſon of Archbiſhop *Uſher*. This learned Gentleman, to ſupply the Defects wherof Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE complains, has undertaken to write a General Hiſtory of *England* from the remoteſt traditional Beginnings to this time. The firſt Volume of it is already abroad, which reaches likewiſe to WILLIAM the Firſt; the Second is now finiſht; and I hope he'l meet with ſufficient incouragement to make a ſpeedy publication of the reſt. For tho his Work may not perfectly reach Sir WILLIAM's Plan in the niceſt exactneſs of Order, Stile, and Compoſition; yet it muſt be confeſt by all true Judges to be the moſt impartial and complete, the faithfulleſt, the moſt methodical, and in all reſpects the beſt Collection that was ever made in *England*. All our Manuſcript hiſtorical Records, and the numerous company of our particular Hiſtorians, can ſerve for little more to poſterity than to verify the Contents of this Book: nor will any body be at the trouble to preſerve 'em for this purpoſe, that is not a ſtranger to Mr. TYRREL's Diligence and Integrity.

MILTON wrote ſom Miſcellaneous Pieces much inferior to his other Works, as a *Grammar* for learning the *Latin* Tongue; a

Logic

Logic after the method of PETRUS RAMUS; a brief Hiſtory of *Muſcovy*, and of other leſs known Countries, lying eaſtward of it as far as *Cathay*, collected from the Relations of ſeveral Travellers: he tranſlated out of *Latin* into *Engliſh*, the Declaration of the *Poles* concerning the Election of their King JOHN the Third, containing an Account of the Virtues and Merits of the ſaid Prince; he publiſht Sir WALTER RALEIGH's *Prince*, or his *Maxims* and *Aphoriſms of State*; and he alſo printed his *Cabinet Council*. More pieces of this rarely accompliſht, tho unfortunat Gentleman, were made public by other perſons; and I daily expect ſom more from JAMES TYRREL, who has the Manuſcript Copies in his hands, and, I dare affirm, will not envy ſuch a bleſſing to the Nation.

OUR Author's Juvenil and Occaſional Poems, both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, were printed in one ſmall Volume. I took notice of the beſt of 'em in many places of this Diſcourſe; but the Monody wherin he bewails his Learned Friend Mr. KING drown'd in the *Iriſh* Seas, is one of the fineſt he ever wrote.

THE *Daniſh* Reſident prevail'd with MILTON to get the Letters of State (formerly mention'd) tranſcrib'd, and which were publiſht after his death: as were alſo his *Familiar Letters* in 74, wherin, to uſe the

the words of MORHOF, there are many Characters of Antient and Modern, of Domeſtic and Foren Authors, very fit to be read and underſtood. The laſt thing he wrote, and that was publiſht a little before his Death, is his *Treatiſe of true Religion, Hereſy, Schiſm, Toleration, and the beſt means that may be us'd to prevent the growth of Popery.* He obſerv'd (as all diſcerning Men muſt have don at that time) the prodigious increaſe of the *Romiſh* Superſtition, occaſion'd partly by the Perſecution againſt Diſſenting *Proteſtants*, but more by the incouragement it receiv'd from the Royal Brothers CHARLES and the Duke of *York*. From the Principles which our Author lays in his Book (and which, I think, are thoſe of the firſt Reformers) he infers that no true *Proteſtant* can perſecute any perſons for ſpeculative Points of Conſcience, much leſs not tolerat his fellow *Proteſtant*, tho in ſom things diſſenting from his own Judgment. After ſhewing that falſe Religion conſiſts in the corrupt Traditions of Men, and their arbitrary Additions to the divine Rule or Standard of all Truth, he was at no great labor to prove the Members of the *Roman* Church to be the greateſt Heretics in the World. As for Schiſm, or the diviſion of Congregations from their difference in Opinions, he ſhews it may happen in the true Church as well as in the falſe; but

but that in the firſt it need not break Communion or brotherly Love, no more than among the *Phariſes* and *Sadducees*, who amicably met at their common Worſhip in *Jeruſalem*. " It is human frailty to err, ſays " he, and no Man is infallible here on Earth. " But ſo long as the *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, " *Anabaptiſts*, *Socinians*, and *Arminians*, " profeſs to ſet the Word of God only be- " fore them as the Rule of their Faith and " Obedience; and uſe all diligence and ſin- " cerity of heart by reading, by learning, " by ſtudy, by prayer for illumination of " the Holy Spirit, to underſtand this Rule " and obey it, they have don whatever " Man can do. God will aſſuredly pardon " them, as he did the Friends of Job, good " and pious Men, tho much miſtaken (as " there it appears) in ſom points of Doc- " trin. But ſom will ſay, with *Chriſtians* " it is otherwiſe, whom God has promis'd " by his Spirit to teach all things. True, " all things abſolutely neceſſary to Salvati- " on: But the hotteſt Diſputes among *Pro-* " *teſtants*, calmly and charitably examin'd, " will be found leſs than ſuch. The *Luthe-* " *ran* holds Conſubſtantiation; an er- " ror indeed, but not mortal. The " *Calviniſt* is tax'd with Predeſtination, and " to make God the Author of Sin; not " with any diſhonorable thoughts of God,

" but

" but, it may be, overzealouſly aſſerting his
" abſolute Power, not without plea from
" Scripture. The *Anabaptiſt* is accus'd of
" denying Infants their right to Baptiſm;
" they ſay again, that they deny nothing
" but what the Scripture denys them. The
" *Arian* and *Socinian* are charg'd to diſpute
" againſt the Trinity; yet they affirm to
" believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt,
" according to Scripture and the Apoſtolic
" Creed. As for the terms of Trinity,
" Trinunity, Coeſſentiality, Triperſonality,
" and the like, they reject them as Scholaſtic
" Notions, not to be found in Scripture,
" which, by a general *Proteſtant* Maxim,
" is plain and perſpicuous abundantly to
" explain its own meaning in the propereſt
" words belonging to ſo high a matter, and
" ſo neceſſary to be known; a myſtery in-
" deed in their Sophiſtic Subtilties, but in
" Scripture a plain Doctrin. The *Arminian*
" laſtly is condemn'd for ſetting up Free
" Will againſt Free Grace; but that impu-
" tation he diſclaims in all his Writings, and
" grounds himſelf largely upon Scripture
" only. It cannot be deny'd that the Au-
" thors or late Revivers of all theſe Sects or
" Opinions were learned, worthy, zealous,
" and religious Men, as appears by their
" Lives written, and the Fame of their ma-
" ny eminent and learned Followers, per-

" ſect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy
" and unblamable in their Actions: And it
" cannot be imagin'd that God would deſert
" ſuch painful and zealous Laborers in his
" Church, and ofttimes great ſufferers for
" their Conſcience, to damnable Errors and
" a reprobat Senſe, who had ſo often im-
" plor'd the aſſiſtance of his Spirit; but ra-
" ther, having made no Man infallible, that
" he has pardon'd their Errors, and accepts
" their pious Endeavors, ſincerely ſearching
" all things according to the Rule of Scrip-
" ture, with ſuch guidance and direction as
" they can obtain of God by Prayer. What
" *Proteſtant* then, who himſelf maintains
" the ſame Principles, and diſavows all
" implicit Faith, would perſecute, and not
" rather charitably tolerat ſuch men as theſe,
" unleſs he means to abjure the Principles of
" his own Religion? If it be ask'd how far
" they ſhould be tolerated? I anſwer, doubt-
" leſs equally, as being all *Proteſtants*; that
" is, on all occaſions to be permitted to give
" an account of their Faith, either by argu-
" ing, preaching in their ſeveral Aſſemblies,
" by public writing, and the freedom of
" printing. Nothing can be imagin'd more
reaſonable, honeſt, or pious, than this paſ-
ſage; and I don't remember ever to have
met with any perſon who ſpoke with ſuch
diſintereſtedneſs and impartiality of our va-

rious

rious Sects in Religion except THOMAS FIRMIN, whoſe Charity was as much extended to men of different Opinions, as it was to the Poor of all ſorts in good Works; but in this laſt reſpect he was never yet equal'd, nor likely to be eaſily exceded by any hereafter: tho his excellent Example is admir'd by ſeveral, and deſerves to be imitated by all. In the laſt place, MILTON ſhews that *Popery* (not as it is a Religion, but as a tyrannical Faction oppreſſing all others) is intolerable, and that the beſt method of keeping it from ever increaſing in this Nation, is by the toleration of all kinds of *Proteſtants*, or any others whoſe Principles do not neceſſarily lead 'em to Sedition or Vice. But this Subject is ſince perfectly exhauſted, and treated with greater clearneſs and brevity than ever before in a Letter concerning *Toleration* by JOHN LOCK, who in his Book of *Human Underſtanding* muſt be confeſt to be the greateſt Philoſopher after CICERO in the Univerſe; for he's throly acquainted with human Nature, well vers'd in the uſeful Affairs of the World, a great Maſter of Eloquence (Qualities in which the *Roman* Conſul excel'd) and like him alſo a hearty lover of his Country, as appears by his Treatiſes of *Government* and *Education*, not inferior in their kind to the divineſt Pieces of TULLY. MILTON's *Theſaurus Linguæ*

Latinæ, deſign'd as a Supplement to STEPHANUS, was never publiſht, and has bin of great uſe to Dr. LITTLETON in compiling his Dictionary. He wrote likewiſe a *Syſtem of Divinity*, but whether intended for public view, or collected merely for his own uſe, I cannot determin. It was in the hands of his Friend CYRIAC SKINNER; and where at preſent is uncertain.

THIS is a full and true account of his genuin Works and Sentiments, not putting the Directions or Aſſiſtance which he frequently gave other Writers, to his account. Towards the latter part of his time he contracted his Library, both becauſe the Heirs he left could not make a right uſe of it, and that he thought he might ſell it more to their advantage than they could be able to do themſelves. His Enemies reported that Poverty conſtrain'd him thus to part with his Books: and were this true, it would be indeed a great diſgrace, not to him (for Perſons of the higheſt Merits have bin often reduc'd to that condition) but to any Country that ſhould have no more regard to Probity or Learning: this Story however is ſo falſe, that he dy'd worth fifteen hundred Pounds, beſides all his Goods. The Houſe wherin he was born, and which Strangers us'd to viſit before the Fire, was part of his Eſtate as long as it ſtood. He put two thouſand Pounds

Pounds into the Exciſe, which he loſt when that Bank fail'd; not to mention another great Sum which was gon for want of management and good advice. He was never very healthy, nor too ſickly; and the Diſtemper that troubled him moſt of any other was the Gout, of which he dy'd without much pain in the year from the birth of CHRIST 1674, and in the ſix and ſixtieth of his Age. All his learned and great Friends in *London*, not without a friendly concourſe of the Vulgar, accompany'd his Body to the Church of S. GILES near *Cripplegate*, where he lies buried in the Chancel; and where the Piety of his Admirers will ſhortly erect a Monument becoming his worth, and the incouragement of Letters in King WILLIAM's Reign.

THUS liv'd and dy'd JOHN MILTON, a Perſon of the beſt Accompliſhments, the happieſt Genius, and the vaſteſt Learning which this Nation, ſo renown'd for producing excellent Writers, could ever yet ſhew: eſteem'd indeed at home, but much more honor'd abroad, where almoſt in his Childhood he made a conſiderable figure, and continues to be ſtill reputed one of the brighteſt Luminaries of the Sciences. He was middleſiz'd and well proportion'd, his Deportment erect and manly, his Hair of a light brown, his Features exactly regular,

his Complexion wonderfully fair when a Youth, and ruddy to the very laſt. He was affable in Converſation, of an equal and chearful Temper, and highly delighted with all ſorts of Muſic, in which he was himſelf not meanly skil'd. He was extraordinary temperat in his Diet, which was any thing moſt in ſeaſon or the eaſieſt procur'd, and was no Friend to ſharp or ſtrong Liquors. His Recreations, before his Sight was gon, conſiſted much in feats of Activity, particularly in the exerciſe of his Arms, which he could handle with dexterity: but when Blindneſs and Age confin'd him, he play'd much upon an Organ he kept in the Houſe; and had a Pully to ſwing and keep him in motion. But the love of Books exceded all his other Paſſions. In Summer he would be ſtirring at four in the Morning, and in Winter at five; but at Night he us'd to go to bed by nine, partly attributing the loſs of his Eys to his late watching when he was a Student, and looking on this cuſtom as very pernicious to Health at any time: but when he was not diſpos'd to riſe at his uſual hours, he always had one to read to him by his bedſide. As he look'd upon true and abſolute Freedom to be the greateſt Happineſs of this Life, whether to Societies or ſingle Perſons; ſo he thought Conſtraint of any ſort to be the utmoſt Miſery: for which Reaſon he us'd

us'd to tell thoſe about him the intire Satisfaction of his Mind, that he had conſtantly imploy'd his Strength and Faculties in the defence of Liberty, and in a direct oppoſition to Slavery. He ever expreſt the profoundeſt Reverence to the Deity as well in Deeds as Words; and would ſay to his Friends, that the divine Properties of Goodneſs, Juſtice, and Mercy, were the adequat Rule of human Actions, nor leſs the Object of Imitation for privat Advantages, than of Admiration or Reſpect for their own Excellence and Perfection. In his early days he was a Favorer of thoſe *Proteſtants* then opprobriouſly cal'd by the name of *Puritans*: In his middle years he was beſt pleas'd with the *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts*, as allowing of more Liberty than others, and coming neareſt in his opinion to the primitive practice: but in the latter part of his Life, he was not a profeſt Member of any particular Sect among Chriſtians, he frequented none of their Aſſemblies, nor made uſe of their peculiar Rites in his Family. Whether this proceded from a diſlike of their uncharitable and endleſs Diſputes, and that Love of Dominion, or Inclination to Perſecution, which, he ſaid, was a piece of Popery inſeparable from all Churches; or whether he thought one might be a good Man, without ſubſcribing to any Party;

and that they had all in ſom things corrupted the Inſtitutions of JESUS CHRIST, I will by no means adventure to determin: for Conjectures on ſuch occaſions are very uncertain, and I never met with any of his Acquaintance who could be poſitive in aſſigning the true Reaſons of his Conduct.

I SHALL now conclude this Diſcourſe with a Character given of him by a Man of unparallel'd Diligence and Induſtry, who has diſoblig'd all ſides merely for telling the Truth either intirely, or without diſguiſe; and who, ſince moſt Men have the frailty of ingaging in Factions, cannot be ſuſpected of Partiality in favor of MILTON. He was a Perſon, ſays ANTHONY WOOD in the firſt Volume of his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, of wonderful Parts, of a very ſharp, biting, and ſatyrical Wit; he was a good Philoſopher and Hiſtorian; an excellent Poet, Latiniſt, Grecian, and Hebrician; a good Mathematician and Muſician; and ſo rarely endow'd by Nature, that had he bin but honeſtly principled, he might have bin highly uſeful to that Party, againſt which he all along appear'd with much Malice and Bitterneſs.

AND

AND now, *Sir*, I end with you, with whom I begun, not doubting but this ſmall Preſent, both from the dignity of the Subject and your Favor to the Writer, will be kindly accepted. It may indeed be the more plain and unpoliſh'd, but not the leſs uſeful or ſincere for coming out of a Country Retirement. The moſt knowing Perſons acknowlege that Divine Philoſophy her ſelf was begot in the Woods, where agreably paſſing her Infancy, and growing up in the neighboring Fields, ſhe became gentle in time, and ſo ventur'd to com into Towns and Cities; but being quickly weary'd there with the Tumult of Buſineſs or Faction, and longing for her former Tranquillity, ſhe ſtraight retir'd into Gardens or Groves, to her Fields and Woods again. 'Tis probable that you (as well as I or any other) may diſapprove of MILTON'S Sentiments in ſeveral caſes, but, I'm ſure,

ſure, you are far from being diſpleas'd to find 'em particulariz'd in the Hiſtory of his Life; for we ſhould have no true Account of things, if Authors related nothing but what they lik'd themſelves: one Party would never ſuffer the Lives of TARQUIN, or PHALARIS, or SYLLA, or CÆSAR, to appear; while another would be as ready to ſuppreſs thoſe of CICERO, of CATO, of TRAJAN, or BRUTUS. But a Hiſtorian ought to conceal or diſguiſe nothing, and the Reader is to be left Judg of the Virtues he ſhould imitat, or the Vices he ought to deteſt and avoid, without ever loving his Book the leſs: for (as the Lord BACON truly ſaid) *a forbidden Writing is thought to be a certain ſpark of Truth that flies up in the faces of them who ſeek to tread it out.* But your extraordinary Judgment and Candor, join'd to the beſt Learning, and an exact Knowlege of Men and Affairs, render my further in-

inculcating of theſe Maxims very needleſs; and therfore I ſhall only put you in mind, *Sir*, that my deſire of gratifying your Curioſity conquer'd my Averſion to write any thing during this pleaſanteſt Seaſon of the Year.

Sept. 3. 1698. *I. T.*

FINIS.

Al

Al Signor Gio. Miltoni Nobile Ingleſe.

ODE.

ERgimi all' Etra o Clio
Perche di ſtelle intrecciero corona
Non piu del Biondo Dio
La Fronde eterna in Pindo, e in Elicona,
Dienſi a merto maggior, maggiori i fregi,
A' celeſte virtu celeſti pregi.

Non puo del tempo edace
Rimaner preda, eterno alto valore
Non puo l' oblio rapace
Furar dalle memorie eccelſo onore,
Su l' arco di mia cetra un dardo forte
Virtu m' addatti, e feriro la morte.

Del

Del Ocean profondo
Cinta dagli ampi gorghi Anglia reſiede
Separata dal mondo,
Pero che il ſuo valor l'umano eccede:
Queſta feconda ſa produrre Eroi,
Ch' hanno a ragion del ſovruman tra noi.

Alla virtu sbandita
Danno ne i petti lor fido ricetto,
Quella gli e ſol gradita,
Perche in lei ſan trovar gioia, e diletto;
Ridillo tu, Giovanni, e moſtra in tanto
Con tua vera virtu, vero il mio Canto.

Lungi dal Patrio lido
Spinſe Zeuſi l' induſtre ardente brama;
Ch' udio d' Helena il grido
Con aurea tromba rimbombar la fama,
E per poterla effigiare al paro
Dalle piu belle Idee traſſe il piu raro.

Coſi l' Ape Ingegnoſa
Trae con induſtria il ſuo liquor pregiato
Dal giglio e dalla roſa,
E quanti vaghi fiori ornano il prato;

Formano

Formano un dolce ſuon diverſe Chorde,
Fan varie voci melodia concorde.

Di bella gloria amante
Milton dal Ciel natio per varie parti
Le peregrini piante
Volgeſti a ricercar ſcienze, ed arti;
Del Gallo regnator vedeſti i Regni,
E dell' Italia ancor gl' Eroi piu degni.

Fabro quaſi divino
Sol virtu rintracciando il tuo penſiero
Vide in ogni confino
Chi di nobil valor calca il ſentiero;
L' ottimo dal miglior dopo ſcegliea
Per fabbricar d' ogni virtu l' Idea.

Quanti nacquero in Flora
O in lei del parlar Toſco appreſer l' arte,
La cui memoria onora
Il mondo fatta eterna in dotte carte,
Voleſti ricercar per tuo teſoro,
E parlaſti con lor nell' opre loro.

Nell'

Nell' altera Babelle
Per te il parlar confuſe Giove in vano,
Che per varie favelle
Di ſe ſteſſa trofeo cadde ſu'l piano:
Ch' Ode oltr' all' Anglia il ſuo piu degno Idioma
Spagna, Francia, Toſcana, e Grecia e Roma.

I piu profondi arcani
Ch' occulta la natura e in cielo e in terra
Ch' a Ingegni ſovrumani
Troppo avara tal' hor gli chiude, e ſerra,
Chiaramente conoſci, e giungi al fine
Della moral virtude al gran confine.

Non batta il Tempo l' ale,
Fermiſi immotto, e in un fermin ſi gl' anni,
Che di virtu immortale
Scorron di troppo ingiurioſi a i danni;
Che s' opre dtgne di Poema e ſtoria
Furon gia, l' hai preſenti alla memoria.

Dammi tua dolce Cetra
Se vuoi ch'io dica del tuo dolce canto,
Ch' inalzandoti all' Etra
Di farti huomo celeſte ottiene il vanto,

Il

Il Tamigi il dira che gl' e conceſſo
Per te ſuo cigno pareggiar Permeſſo.

Io che in riva del Arno
Tento ſpiegar tuo merto alto, e preclaro
So che fatico indarno,
E ad ammirar, non a lodarlo imparo;
Freno dunque la lingua, e aſcolto il core
Che ti prende a lodar con lo ſtupore.

Del ſig. Antonio Francini gentilhuomo Fiorentino.

An

An Exact Catalogue of all *MILTON*'s Works in their true Order, as they are mention'd in the Hiſtory of his Life.

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2. *Of Prelatical Epiſcopacy, and whether it can be deduc'd from the Apoſtolical times.* p. 30.

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11. Areopagitica: *a Speech for the Liberty of unlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of* England. p. 62.

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13. Eikonoclaſtes, *in anſwer to a Book intitul'd* Eikon Baſilike. p. 81.

14. *Obſervations on* Ormond's *Articles of Peace with the* Iriſh, *his Letter to Colonel* Jones, *and on the Repreſentation of the Presbytery of* Belfaſt. p. 93.

15. Defen-

15. Defenſio pro Populo Anglicano, *or his Defence of the People of* England *againſt* Salmaſius's *Defence of the King.* p. 95.

16. Joannis Philippi Reſponſio ad Apologiam Anonymi cujuſdam. p. 102.

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33. *A Treatiſe of true Religion, Hereſy, Schiſm, Toleration, and the beſt means to prevent the growth of Popery.* p. 143.

34. Lit-

34. Litteræ Senatus Anglicani, &c. *or Letters of State.* p. 142.

35. Epiſtolarum familiarium liber unus; acceſſerunt Proluſiones quædam Oratoriæ. p. 142.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ALL theſe Books, except the Poetical Part, are now publiſh'd together in three Volumes in Folio, with this Life prefix'd; the two firſt containing the Engliſh, and the third the Latin Pieces.

		Errors.	Amendments.
Page 9.	line 17.	1606.	1608.
31.	15.	*Performanee*	*Performance*
69.	32.	*MABOL*	*MABOT*
91.	32.	*manyon*	*many on*
92.	1.	*often; did*	*often did;*
129.	23.	*other*	*former*
136.	17.	*dulces*	*duces*